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ABSTRACT

Three studies of schools during their first year of voluntary desegregation focused on classroom dynamics and inter-ethnic socialization occurring inside and outside the classroom. The initial study, an exploratory field investigation of four classrooms, involved 600 hours of observation and collaboration with teachers and principals through interviews and audiotapes. A validation study was conducted the following year in a similar school using similar research techniques. This report summarizes the validity study findings and compares them with those of the first study. Chapter I is an introduction. Chapter II describes the background of the desegregation process in the school districts. Brief sketches of the teachers in the study and descriptions of the schools are presented in chapter III. Chapter IV presents summaries of the findings, including instructional practices, classroom management, moral socialization, socioemotional development, efforts to encourage social integration, and administrative issues. Chapter V compares the findings of the exploratory study and the validation study. Findings from a third study, "The Responsive Follow-Up Investigations" are presented in chapter VI. Chapter VII describes the features of a staff development delivery model for inservice training in multi-ethnic schools. The final chapter, chapter VIII, offers policy implications and conclusions from the study. (JD)

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MULTI-ETHNIC SCHOOL ENVIRONMENTS PROJECT

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FINAL REPORT

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SP 025 538

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I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this report is to summarize and compare the findings of two ethnographic studies of teacher training needs in newly desegregated schools conducted by the Multi-Ethnic School Environments Project (MESE).

Since 1978, MESE has worked to provide a research base for identifying staff development needs in multiethnic elementary schools. Currently, the Project's goal is to develop a training process, based on MESE findings, that practitioners can use in designing a staff development program that is appropriate to a multiethnic school site.

It should be noted that to date, few research efforts in the area of school desegregation have directly addressed the issue of staff development. For sound political reasons, works of practical import in the field have dealt with such issues as demographic shifts (i.e., white flight) (Armor, 1978), academic outcomes for minorities (St. John, 1975), prescriptions for accomplishing smooth implementation of desegregation plans (Willie and Greenblatt, 1980) or prescriptions for improving school climate (Genova & Walberg, 1980).

The body of literature that does exist on staff development for teachers of minority and disadvantaged students has focused on lobbying for the incorporation of a multicultural perspective into curriculum (Klassen and Gollnick, 1977) or on suggesting how to remediate against unfair disciplinary practices (Children's Defense Fund, 1975). Researchers have been far less interested in examining the concrete problems teachers face in desegregating schools. As a result, staff development has been based on general goals of social integration or on the improvement of minority academic performance.

Because the perspective the MESE Project has taken is that the key to understanding staff development needs is to systematically examine both the social and the institutional context in which teaching and socialization occurs, the Project has targeted its inquiry toward those complex social relations in multiethnic schools that shape the learning environment. Classroom dynamics and interethnic socialization that occurs inside and outside the classroom have been the focus of the MESE study. The purpose of this approach has been to generate the kinds of prescriptive recommendations for staff development that have been provided for multiethnic school policy in general. The utility of this approach can be explained by briefly reviewing the history of the Project.

A. Project History

The long-range goal of the Project has been to provide a research base that could inform the design of inservice training procedures to be utilized by staff development departments of districts with multiethnic schools or by faculty at a school site. To accomplish this goal, three ethnographic studies have been conducted in school districts undergoing their first year of voluntary desegregation. These studies are depicted in Figure 1, which follows.

1. Study I (The Exploratory Study)

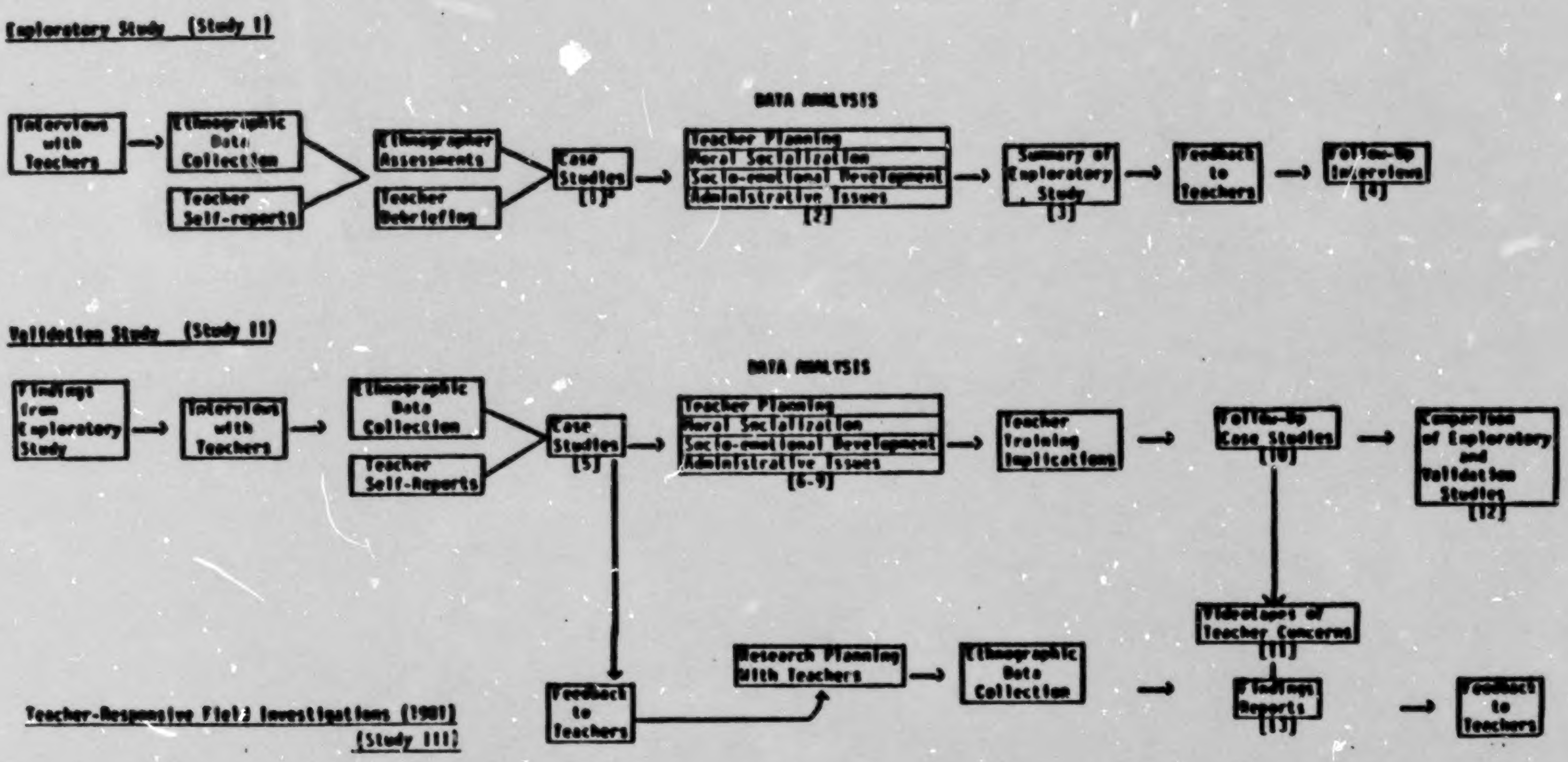
The initial study, which was done in 1978-79 in Valley City (a pseudonym), was an exploratory field investigation and used a multidisciplinary approach to analysis. Four classrooms in four newly desegregated schools were observed for over 600 hours during the fall. Teachers collaborated in the research by making daily audiotapes on days they were observed concerning their impressions of the school day. Interviews were conducted with teachers and principals, and teachers examined some of the data in work sessions. The data was then turned over to a group of data analysts who reflected a range of perspectives,

7

Figure 1.

MULTI-ETHNIC SCHOOL ENVIRONMENTS PROJECT

CHART OF RESEARCH ACTIVITIES 1979-1981


Exploratory Study (Study I)
Interviews with Teachers
Ethnographic Data Collection
Teacher Self-reports
Ethnographer Assessments
Teacher Debriefing
Case Studies [1]*
DATA ANALYSIS
Teacher Planning
Moral Socialization
Socio-emotional Development
Administrative Issues
[2]
Summary of Exploratory Study [3]
Feedback to Teachers
Follow-Up Interviews [4]
Validation Study (Study II)
Findings from Exploratory Study
Interviews with Teachers
Ethnographic Data Collection
Teacher Self-Reports
Case Studies [5]
DATA ANALYSIS
Teacher Planning
Moral Socialization
Socio-emotional Development
Administrative Issues
[6-9]
Teacher Training Implications
Follow-Up Case Studies [10]
Comparison of Exploratory and Validation Studies [12]
Videotapes of Teacher Concerns [11]
Teacher-Responsive Field Investigations (1981) (Study III)
Feedback to Teachers
Research Planning With Teachers
Ethnographic Data Collection
Findings Reports [13]
Feedback to Teachers

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* Numbers refer to project products. See Bibliography for titles.

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including educational psychology (Dr. Christopher Clark, Michigan State University and James Brady, California State, Los Angeles); social psychology (Dr. Joanne Whitmore and Dr. Colet Hopkins, Vanderbilt University); sociology (Dr. Gene Levine, University of California, Los Angeles); and administration/policy analysis (Dr. Charles Moody, University of Michigan and Kathryn Hughes, Far West Laboratory). Utilizing these perspectives, the data analysts examined certain key issues, including:

- Teacher Planning: How do teacher decisions about the instructional and managerial organization of the classroom affect the quality of the learning environment?
- Socioemotional Development of Students: What are the patterns of teacher-student interactions that characterize more and less effective teachers with regard to facilitating positive group self-image, student self-concept, and social skills?
- Moral Socialization: What are norms of acceptable behavior? What values are transmitted about work and school? What expectations are fostered about ethnicity?
- Administrative Practices: How do the policies and practices at the district and school level foster or inhibit the goals of cultural pluralism and educational equity?

The implications for inservice and preservice training of teachers and for administrative staff development were then compiled into a set of critical issues (see Report MESE 801).

2. Study II (The Validation Study)

In order to test the validity of the implications about teacher training needs that the Exploratory Study yielded, a second study was undertaken in 1980-81 in another school district which was also beginning its desegregation implementation. Study II examined seven classrooms for 700 hours in two of the four magnet programs that had been initiated in this district (which was called Vista Grande for the purposes of the study). It was assumed that the differences between the two environments of "Valley City" and "Vista Grande", between teacher styles, and between mixes of students would allow us to refine and expand our understanding of the factors that influence the success of teachers who are dealing with the challenges of pluralistic classrooms.

The Validation Study design was similar to that employed in Study I except that the inquiry was guided by the desire to corroborate, refine, or qualify the findings of the first study. To aid in the planning of the Validation Study, the Project's advisory panel reviewed the Exploratory Study in July 1980 and discussed ways that both substantive and methodological improvements could be incorporated into the design of Study II. The panelists were Dr. Oscar Uribe, NIE: Dr. Edmond Gordon, Yale University; Dr. Nate Gage, Stanford University; Dr. Mary Metz, University of Wisconsin; Dr. Joanne Whitmore, Kent State University; Dr. Carlos Cortes, University of California, Riverside; Dr. Hendrik Gideonse, University of Cincinnati; Dr. Louis Smith, Washington University; and the ESAA coordinator and one of the teachers from the "Valley City" school district.

Among the recommendations offered by the panelists was the recommendation that more than one teacher at the same school site should be studied in order to distinguish between school and teacher influences. It was for this reason hat the study included seven classrooms intwo of the four magnet programs in /ista Grande" district. The panel also asked for a more longitudinal view of e classrooms, especially in light of the marked changes that occurred over year in Study I. These had only been documented through teacher self- orts. Consequently, in Vista Grande the classrooms were observed for 500 s in the fall and 200 hours over the winter and spring. In addition, the ect sought to emphasize research priorities set by the Board of Far West atory to meet regional needs. Thus, the data analysis undertaken by the ch staff highlighted the following key issues:

- Administrative Policy: To what extent has the desegregation plan been implemented? To what extent is administrative leadership important for the desegregation process?

- School Environment: How does the site administrator operate? What is the relationship between parents and the school? What are the relationships among faculty and staff?

- Diversity of Instructional Offerings: Is the teacher responsive to differences in students' learning styles? Are individualized instruction and student grouping used appropriately?

- Classroom Management: How does the teacher use authority? Set up rewards? Control normative structure?

- Teacher's Counseling and Noninstructional Relationship with Students: How does the teacher handle crises? Diagnose students' emotional needs? Deal with students who have adjustment problems?

- Value Inculcation: What values does the teacher espouse? Are there value conflicts in the classroom? What ethos of work productivity is espoused?

- Interpersonal Relations: What is the interpersonal climate in the room? How do friendship, deference, and participation patterns reflect integration?

- Efforts to Encourage Social Integration: Is the curriculum multicultural? Is there a coordinated effort at the school to integrate students? Are counseling techniques used to assist students with adjustment problems?

The results of Study II broadened the generalizability of Study I findings. In some cases the staff development needs identified during the study of the first school district were apparent in the second school district. In other cases, training needs were situation specific because of unique institutional and ethnic mix factors at certain schools (See MESE Reports 809 and 814).

3. Responsive Follow-up (RFU) Investigations

Following completion of the Validation Study, the focus of the Project turned to a third field study which was actually a set of qualitative "mini-studies" whose purpose was to provide feedback concerning topics of interest to individual teachers. As part of this process, each Vista Grande teacher was given case studies of her classroom, which had been developed during Study II (see MESE Report 80-10B). These teachers then met with the ethnographer to discuss the case studies and generate topics for investigation during the spring.

It was hoped that these follow-up investigations would be responsive to teacher skill-development needs, and/or would illuminate problem areas related to teaching ethnically diverse groups of students. Although the RFU studies were not technically part of the validation process, they shared the same general purpose and the same observed classrooms with the validation study; thus, some of the information garnered from these reports was used to inform the assessment of teacher training needs obtained from the Vista Grande study. Therefore, both the Valley City and Vista Grande studies had a "longitudinal" component.

A total of five mini-studies were conducted (see MESE Report 817):

- A study of the effects of teacher praise and sanctions on white minority students.
- A study of ethnic identity and peer relations.
- A study of the effectiveness of and student perceptions of newly-introduced classroom management practices.
- A study of student leadership, academic cooperation, and play preferences.
- Case histories of students with adjustment problems.

The RFU studies had four important outcomes. First, they permitted a much closer look at student perceptions and behavior than was attainable using the observational methods used in Study II. Second, they demonstrated the difficulties staff developers face in working closely with teachers who do not recognize the need to reconceptualize their methods for treating ethnicity in their classrooms. Third, they demonstrated the potential efficacy that classroom-specific, sociological qualitative/quantitative research can have in diagnosing staff development needs and evaluation of effects.

Finally, they provided a context in which visual ethnography (i.e., videotape case studies [see MESE VT-1 and MESE VT-2]) could be used to depict critical issues in magnet schools for the purpose of teacher feedback and as a potential training tool. In all, four classrooms were videotaped to visually depict teacher practices and problem areas. After the tapes had been shown to the teachers involved and their feedback had been received, the tapes were edited and narration was provided, resulting in a videotape that is a 40-minute composite profile of problems faced by teachers in a mini-magnet program. This videotape has been broadcast during prime time in the San Francisco Bay Area.

B. Structure of the Report

In summarizing ethnographic research a difficult tradeoff must be made between the desire to concisely present findings and conclusions and the need to present supportive descriptive information. The approach taken here offers the reader a substantial amount of background commentary about teaching styles and social relations in the classrooms. Because it was summarized in another document (Summary of Exploratory Study, Report MESE 809), the Exploratory Study receives only commentary related to comparative findings with the validation study. The reader who is interested in more detailed explanation of the studies is referred to the following reports (see bibliography for citations):

Exploratory Study

1.	Methodology	MESE 79-1A
2.	Case Studies	MESE 79-1B
3.	Data Analysts Reports	MESE 79-1C
4.	Critical Issues	MESE 801
5.	Follow-Up	MESE 803
6.	Summary	MESE 809

Validation Study

1.	Methodology	MESE 80-10A
2.	Case Studies	MESE 80-10B
3.	Data Analysis Reports	MESE 811, 812, 815, 816
4.	Critical Issues	MESE 813, 814
5.	Follow-Up	MESE 819
6.	Responsive Follow-Up Report	MESE 81-15

This report both summarizes the validity study findings and compares these findings with those of the first study. The report is organized in the following manner: Chapter II describes the background of the desegregation process in the school districts. Chapter III describes the schools and gives brief sketches of the teachers in the study. Chapter IV presents summaries of the findings of the validation study, that include instructional practices, classroom management, moral socialization, socioemotional development, efforts to encourage social intergration and administrative issues. Chapter V compares the findings of the exploratory study and the validation study. Chapter VI presents the findings ofa third MESE study: The Responsive Follow-up Investigations. Chapter VII describes the features of a staff development delivery model for inservice training in multi-ethnic schools. Chapter VIII offers policy implications and conclusions from the study.

II. DESCRIPTION OF THE DESEGREGATION PROCESS IN THE TWO DISTRICTS STUDIED

A. Description of Valley City School District

Valley City School District, one of the fifteen largest districts in California, is located in an urban and surrounding unincorporated suburban and rural area with a population just over 100,000. The district serves approximately 30,000 K-12 grade students who live in the community. Highly ghettoized residential segregation exists for both blacks, living on the west side of town, and Mexican-Americans, living on the southeast side of town. Freeways provide natural barriers to these areas. The elementary school population in 1978* consisted of 52 percent white, 28 percent Spanish-surnamed, and 16 percent black students. Comparison of ethnic distribution surveys from 1974 and 1978 shows that the Spanish-surnamed student population increased by five percent, the black population increased by one percent, while the white student population decreased by seven percent. The 1970 census figures indicate substantial poverty in the community. Approximately 13 percent of the families were below the poverty line, and almost half of the adult population had not completed high school. Twenty-five percent of the elementary students were from welfare homes.

1. History of Desegregation in Valley City

Desegregation was strongly resisted by the white community when the district attempted integration in the early 1960's. Following a suit initiated by the NAACP in 1973, the district was ordered by the State Superior Court to present a plan to eliminate racial isolation in its schools. On May 1, 1978, the judge noted that significant improvement in educational conditions had occurred from 1973 to 1978, and that the number of isolated minorities had been reduced from 6,600 to 2,000 students. In light of this evidence, the court accepted the district's proposed voluntary desegregation plan. The court would impose a mandatory program if the voluntary plan failed to meet its goal by November 20, 1979. The goal was to have no ethnic group compose more than 80 percent of the student population of any school. The district was successful in reaching this goal and deadline.

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* All figures are drawn from documents prepared by the school district.

a. School Finance

The financial picture in 1978 was bleak, largely because of the impact of Proposition 13. When the judge's ruling was handed down, the district looked to ESAA for assistance and mobilized its most capable staff from different departments to write a strong grant proposal. During the first year most of the grant (@$330k) went into salaries for resource personnel at the magnet sites. Prior to desegregation, the district had no department of elementary school instruction.

b. Community Reaction

The reaction of the community was not as problemmatic as had been anticipated. The mood of the community was described as moving from "hostility" to "support" within the first months of the plan. The number of students who have transferred increased dramatically after the first year. Interest of parents in increasing at the school level to identify useful programs. As a result of these successes the district is not frightened by the possibility of vouchers because they presently offer so many options which tap parents' concerns.

While there were some vocal parents who opposed the plan, there was no organized resistance to the implementation. The media in the community has depicted the program as an unqualified success.

c. Organizational Character of the District

The ESAA coordinator felt that there had been a lack of communication between the business, personnel and staff development departments. During the first year of desegregation, this had resulted in slowing down the logistical arrangements for inservice training activities. Since that time the moving and consolidating of the central administration into a new building improved accessibility and, thus, communication among the administrators.

Because of desegregation and the introduction of proficiency testing it was perceived that there was a greater need for site administrators to be in contact with the central office, and that site administrators must have less autonomy. All administrative staff associated with elementary programs attend the regularly scheduled principal meetings. All site administrators must attend the inservice training program being given to their faculties. Evaluation of programs is done by three assistant superintendents so that all are informed about and cannot be protective of the programs and staff. The leadership team of the desegregation program meets weekly with the assistant superintendent to discuss ESAA, support services and transportation. In addition, the superintendent has had a policy of always attending principal meetings.

In sum, the centralization of staff development within the new elementary instruction department was perceived as an opportunity to "flush out" some people who were not ready to move ahead, and to design and provide much needed staff improvement.

d. Assistance Sought and Received

The district sought and received financial assistance from ESAA, and The Office of Intergroup Relations of the State Board of Education. The regional Race Desegregation Assistance Center was frequently consulted to sponsor student leadership programs and to examine program evaluation design.

With the influx of ESAA money, inservice training in reading and classroom management was provided to many teachers and all principals in the impacted schools through the education department of local IHEs. No training was provided to prepare teachers for the initial desegregation. Later, inservice training was rearranged under new leadership such that staff development was conducted at the district offices on a voluntary basis with greater commitment from the teachers. The success of the new approach was evinced by the fact that the district now "exports" its expertise to other districts.

e. Problems Perceived by Administrators

The greatest problem the first year of desegregation was to get sufficient numbers of students to transfer. While some schools had not reached the 80/20 proportion of students by October, this milestone was reached by the Christmas break. Entering the third year of desegregation, the challenge remains to maintain the flexibility of effort to develop programs which will attract students and drop programs which aren't working. A school closure committee has been formed to examine the need for consolidation. The policies of the Reagan administration in Washington were perceived as potentially threatening to the district's current operations.

2. The Schools Observed in the Exploratory Study

The district's plan for addressing minority isolation in its 37 elementary schools consisted of creating cluster arrangements for the sixteen impacted schools in order to encourage students to transfer for one or more years. Four clusters were designated such that within each cluster the total student population was approximately balanced between minority and white students. The bait for student transfers within each cluster was the magnet programs in basic skills, early childhood education, fine arts, environmental education, science-history, Vanguard (MGM), extended day care and year-round education. Eligibility for programs was restricted or apportioned to white or minority students in a cluster, based upon the needs of the particular school housing the program. Thus, a white student attending a predominantly white school in a cluster was eligible for the extended day care program at one of the cluster's black schools.

Classrooms observed (in this study) were drawn from schools in three of the four clusters in the district. To provide an overview of relative isolation problems in these cluster schools, the ethnic distribution of students in each school, as of September 1978, is shown in Table 1.

In addition to being isolated, minority students performed more poorly than whites on standardized tests. As indicated in the district's ESAA proposal, 80.5 percent of the sixth grade students in minority schools in the clusters scored below the sixth grade equivalent in reading on the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills (CTBS) in January 1979. By contrast, 46.7 percent of the sixth-grade students in majority schools scored below their grade level. These trends were reflected in the sixth-grade reading scores at each of the target schools:

	% of students below grade equivalent (50th percentile)
La Cumbre	75
Jefferson	91
Hooper (predominantly majority)	57
Van de Camp	80

Table 1
Valley City Student Ethnic Composition
Beginning of Desegregation

School	% Minority	% Majority
Cluster I		
Van de Camp	79	21
I-b	25	75
I-c	88	12
Cluster II		
II-a	25	75
II-b	33	67
II-c	90	10
Cluster III		
Hooper	20	80
La Cumbre	94	6
III-c	27	73
III-d	84	16
Cluster IV		
Jefferson	80	20
IV-b	38	62
IV-c	27	73
IV-d	73	27
IV-e	34	66

The district's ESAA program tried to address deficiencies identified by a comprehensive needs assessment. Its efforts included: placing resource teachers, counselors, and "diagnosis and prescriptive evaluation centers" in each of the cluster schools; purchasing curriculum appropriate to integrated classrooms: establishing outreach programs; and designing inservice training programs for teachers and aides.

Of the 774 students participating in cluster transfers at the beginning of the 1978-79 school year, 89 were at the schools studied. These numbers had increased somewhat by the time observations began in mid-October.

B. Description of Vista Grande School District

Vista Grande School District is located in a large California city which is splintered into several school districts. The district serves approximately 18,000 K-6 students (1979 figures). Residential segregation exists in the downtown area which is predominantly Mexican-American and increasingly Vietnamese, and in the suburban valley which is overwhelmingly upper-middle-class white. Other parts of the district are more racially mixed. The elementary school population was 62 percent white, 30 percent Hispanic, six percent Asian, two percent black and less than one percent Native-American. More recent trends indicate that the proportion of Asians is increasing significantly, as is the Hispanic population to a lesser degree, while the percentage of whites has declined accordingly. The social strata of families in the community ranges from upper-middle-class to recent poor immigrants from Vietnam and Mexico.

1. History of Desegregation in Vista Grande

The advent of school desegregation was avoided successfuly through the courts for several years. The original suit was brought to the courts ten years ago but a decision was not handed down until 1976. At that time the funding of de facto segregation absolved the district of blame. When the State Supreme Court ruled that all districts must attempt to alleviate school segregation, whether de facto or de jure, the district began taking steps to prepare for voluntary desegregation. In 1979, the district missed the deadline set by the State Board of Education for all district to submit desegregation plans, and failed to get the Circuit Court to rehear the case after they failed in a bid to get ESAA funds for a magnet school program. In 1980, they were cited by the Office of Civil Rights for failing to comply with bilingual education requirements, which resulted in emergency funds for setting up magnet programs being denied.

Finally, in the fall of 1980, a limited voluntary desegregation plan went into effect. Between 1978 and 1980 racial isolation increased at 10 of the 14 schools which were considered segregated (i.e., greater than 80/20 balance). The limited plan consisted of the creation of two back-to-basics magnet schools located in predominantly white schools, and two Extended Learning Program (gifted) mini-magnets, one of which was located in a predominantly white suburban school and the other in a predominantly minority downtown school. The district's goal of having these programs redress the racial imbalance at these schools was dealt a severe blow by the teachers' strike which resulted in fewer student transfers than had been anticipated. At one of the back-to-basics schools, for example, only nine minority students volunteered to be part of the program as of November, although a few more have since been recruited. Pairing and cluster arrangement were originally planned but were not implemented.

a. School Finance

District officials offered a bleak picture for financial planning for the next year. If there were no salary increases, the district predicts a minimum of a $1.3m deficit. A worst case scenario, including the passage of pending state spending legislation, would forcast a $6m deficit, or certain bankruptcy.

Declining enrollment is not the key factor in this financial picture, but contributes indirectly to the problems. The student rolls have decreased by 3.5 percent/year for the past few years. However, this is insufficient to justify school closures which could provide both a fiscal boost, and the consolidation of attendance boundaries in the service of the desegregation effort. An interesting sidelight of the school closure issue is the fact that schools threatened with closure but with community support have been able to hold on by taking on special education classes. Since only 8-12 students are required to justify a classroom, several possible closures have been avoided.

One senses a growing resentment toward the special considerations given to special education needs. Administrative sources agreed that the central administration is understaffed in all departments (particularly the department of instruction, the office of budget and finance, and the superintendent's office) while the special education staff was perceived to be overstaffed.

Because the district was found to be out of compliance by OCR because of the lack of adequate bilingual services, their eligibility for ESAA was delayed. This was originally perceived as an insurmountable obstacle to implementing anything but no-cost magnets. Money was found, however, by the beginning of the school year--$709k was approved from ESAA, the board allocated $500k for improvement of the downtown schools (mainly targeted for secondary schools) and the ELP magnet teacher at Whitman School wrote and received a grant of $90k.

Nevertheless, the uncertainty about funding created problems for the schools. In several cases, materials were on order for the magnet programs but were not available because of insufficient lead time for selecting them. Purchase of social studies texts were delayed for months because of uncertainty over funds which was caused by the continuing fallout of Proposition 13.

The latest development has been a presentation to the board in which it was projected that the magnet programs will have to be operated without transportation.

The Whitman ELP magnet program, if it remains open, is faced with increase of class size from 28 to 31, and the elimination of the three aides and resource teacher. Following the lead of Los Angeles, which is scaling down its desegregation effort, the district seems to feel that they are better off throwing in the towel on voluntary busing. Financial help would be available if mandatory busing is imposed and the issue may be mute in the current wave of judicial setbacks to the desegregation movement.

b. Community Reaction

The reaction of the community was described as "predictably somewhat negative." The district had "dragged its heels" and the community was "brought in kicking and screaming." Magnet schools have been well-accepted, however, they have cautiously been "sold" with little mention of desegregation--a word which seems to inflame the community. A coalition of downtown white parents formed to protest the fact that some white students are not eligible for magnet programs at schools where they would not help racial balance. The media has given this group considerable exposure, while maintaining a generally positive picture of the desegregation effort. The teachers' strike drew a lot of attention away from the initiation of desegregation.

c. Organizational Character of the District

In contrast to Valley City, the degree of communication among departments in Vista Grande was described as "terrible but improving." The district's lame duck superintendent had never attended meetings with principals, and the new superintendent had not improved in this. The transition between the two leaders in the months preceding desegregation had brought a shakeup of personnel.

The two administrators most closely in touch with the desegregation planning and the work of the Community Advisory Council were moved to unrelated assignments. The superintendent's staff (the two persons interviewed) consisted of school principals who were moved up into administrative roles and were learning these roles in the midst of the initial implementation of the desegregation program. While morale was reportedly good, administrators frequently found the new superintendent inaccessible. Decisions affecting the schools were not communicated to the people responsible for implementing them. For example, an idea for creating a program with the county police to decrease truancy was released to the newspapers before the principals had been informed about the idea.

d. Assistance Sought and Received

The district received ESAA assistance and the previously mentioned grant for the ELP program. These monies appear to the administrators to be insufficient to stem the continuing cutbacks made necessary by the decaying financial picture. Inservice training has taken a back seat in the desegregation program. The administrators note that "the schools haven't requested it." Whitman School independently made use of a variety of community resources. For example, tutors were sent from the state university and students made field trips there. Prior to the desegregation effort, they had made various contacts with multiculturalists to address the needs of their growing Vietnamese constituency. At another school in the plan, the faculty and parents had joined to write the prospectus for the magnet school, which also served as a source of pride for the community. In general, other than Assertive Discipline training, no inservice effort was deemed desireable to prepare teachers for the implementation of the desegregation plan.

e. Problems Perceived by Administrators

It was felt that a problem remained in educating the community that desegregation was not designed to be "fair" to everyone who wanted educational options, but to accomplish certain goals. Inservice training was contemplated to address the problem of principals protecting students they wanted to remain at their schools. A ten-year plan was in the works to develop specialized schools so that desegregation and cost-effective operations could both be accommodated. Despite these efforts, the district feels that adjusting attendance boundaries, restructuring grade assignments between elementary, junior high and high schools, and school closures must occur although these would not be accomplished without struggle. A particular difficulty was apparent in the continuity of the moving students from elementary to junior high schools. The desegregated downtown school is not a feeder school for the racially isolated junior high, and the expansion of the magnet program to include other schools is not seen to be financially feasible.

2. The Schools Observed in the Validation Study

Classrooms observed in the study were drawn from one school of each of the two types of programs (i.e., back-to-basics and gifted). Percentages of ethnic distribution of students at these schools are given in Figure 3 for 1979, although the minority population as of the 1980 school year for Whitman were closer to 40 percent Asian and 40 percent Hispanic.

While figures on the level of academic achievement have not yet been released to the project, the language difficulties of ESL students at Whitman School would suggest that there would be a high percentage of students who were scoring below grade level. This condition would not, of course, obtain in the ELP (gifted) program since these students are gifted or high achieving students.

At the back-to-basics magnet (Shepherd), the principal indicated that the school had a proud tradition of having test scores above the district average.

All teachers observed in Vista Grande are white. This is because all teachers in the ELP mini-magnet and in Shepherd School are white women. This reflects the general condition of the district as a whole, in which 77.4 percent of the 734 elementary teachers are white, and 67.6 percent are white women. The features of the school districts are compared in Figure 4 at the conclusion of the chapter, and the classrooms in the validation study are described in more detail in Chapter III.

C. Summary--Comparability of Districts and Classrooms in the Exploratory and Validation Studies

Although Valley city and Vista Grande School Districts were similar in many respects, there were also important differences which must be taken into account in comparing results from the exploratory and validation studies (see Figure 2).

Although Vista Grande is located in a much larger metropolitan area (600,000 versus 100,000), both districts are urban with a suburban character and have campus schools in areas of private homes and/or apartments. Both districts have 37 elementary schools with school populations fairly similar in size but not in ethnic composition. Valley city had the most diverse and evenly divided ethnicity (52 percent white, 48 percent minority), while Vista Grande had mostly white students (approximately 80/20 percent white/minority). While Valley city had 16 percent black students, Vista Grande had only one percent; Valley City had 28 percent Hispanic, while Vista Grande had only 13 percent. Both districts had similar overall percentages of Asians and other minorities (four and three percent, respectively), although Hispanic and Vietnamese children each comprised 40% of the pupils at one of the schools studied in Vista Grande.

Table 2

Vista Grande Predesegregation Student Ethnic Composition by School

	SCHOOL	Amer. Ind.	Asian/ Pac. Isl.	Hispanic	Black	White	TOTAL Nos.	TOTAL Min.%/White%
*	1	2/0%	39/5%	83/11%	41/6%	557/77%	722	23/77
	2	0/0	11/2	77/13	18/3	489/82	595	18/82
	3	4/1	40/6	488/69	23/3	155/22	710	78/22
*	4	0/0	12/3	43/10	3/1	384/87	442	13/87
	5	2/0	29/7	24/6	3/1	371/86	429	14/86
	6	0/0	6/2	138/47	4/1	148/50	296	50/50
	7	1/0	12/5	72/33	9/4	127/57	221	43/57
	8	0/0	44/8	46/8	7/1	445/82	542	18/82
*	SHEPHERD	3/1	12/3	63/19	5/1	252/75	335	25/75
	10	1/0	13/3	315/64	9/2	155/31	493	69/31
	11	30/7	49/11	251/55	16/3	112/24	458	76/24
	12	1/0	23/4	59/11	16/3	456/82	555	18/82
	13	7/2	7/2	415/92	9/2	13/3	451	97/3
	14	3/0	21/3	505/82	17/3	73/12	619	88/12
	15	0/0	44/9	6/1	4/1	436/89	490	11/89
	16	0/0	7/4	2/1	0/0	154/94	163	6/94
	17	6/1	14/3	33/8	10/2	348/85	411	15/85
	18	2/0	20/4	13/3	13/3	462/91	510	9/91
	19	4/1	13/3	240/56	5/1	165/39	427	61/39
	20	12/3	57/12	52/11	4/1	340/73	465	27/73
	21	0/0	31/9	32/9	23/7	254/75	340	25/75
	22	3/0	62/8	26/3	3/0	694/88	788	12/88
*	WHITMAN	4/1	111/20	275/49	29/5	147/26	566	74/26
	24	9/2	31/6	317/66	34/7	87/18	478	82/18
	25	0/0	14/6	6/2	6/2	218/89	244	11/89
	26	3/1	3/1	437/79	8/1	99/18	550	82/18
	27	1/0	24/4	44/8	9/2	484/86	562	14/86
	28	0/0	7/2	27/7	9/2	372/90	415	10/90
	29	3/1	9/2	190/48	1/0	194/49	397	51/49
	30	0/0	19/5	30/8	6/2	310/85	365	15/85
	31	0/0	56/9	7/1	5/1	573/89	641	11/89
	32	4/1	62/9	49/7	13/2	586/82	714	18/82
	33	3/1	16/4	185/44	9/2	207/49	420	51/49
	34	1/0	21/5	26/6	4/1	379/88	432	12/88
	35	27/3	8/1	735/86	5/0	82/10	857	90/10
	36	1/0	53/8	9/1	2/0	559/90	624	10/90
	37	2/0	14/3	54/13	3/1	328/82	401	18/82
	TOTAL	139	1041	5374	385	11189	18128	38/62

Asterisk indicates schools in the desegregation plan.

Named schools are those observed in the study.

Regarding desegregation, both districts were antagonistic toward it. Both adopted limited voluntary desegregation programs which required either no instructional change or change initiated by the teachers in the program in some cases with help from a resource teacher. Teachers in both had previous experience teaching minorities, but in neither case did teachers receive special training prior to implementation of their desegregation plan.

An important difference in the two samples of classrooms in the exploratory and validation studies concerns the ethnic compositions of the classrooms and the teachers. In Valley City three classrooms and schools were predominantly minority (one Hispanic and two black) and two of these had minority teachers (one Hispanic, one black). Two of the four teachers were men (one black). All six classrooms in Vista Grande had predominantly white students and all had white women teachers. All six Vista Grande sample classrooms were in magnets (two Shepherd classes in a fundamentals magnet and four Whitman classes in an ELP magnet program for gifted students which was separated from the rest of the school. Two of the Valley City sample classrooms were in "fundamentals" magnet programs. One was an arts magnet and one offered extended daycare in the primary grades. The "validation" study thus is not intended to replicate the conditions of the exploratory study, but to extend the range of classroom setings examined by the project.

Figure 2
Comparability of School District Sites

Characteristics	Valley City	Vista Grande
Urban/rural	Pop. 100,000 Urban with suburban-rural character Campus schools surrounded by private homes	Pop. 600,000 Urban with suburban character Campus schools surrounded by privates homes and apartments
Community mood	Antagonistic to desegregation	Antagonistic to desegregation
Type of plan	Voluntary under court order	Voluntary under court order
Features of the plan	Open enrollment with clusters to enhance balance, magnet programs extended care programs	Open enrollment to enhance balance, 4 magnet programs
Elementary school population	25,000+ 37 Elementary Schools	18,000+ 37 schools
Total elementary ethnic distribution (%)	White 52 Black 16 Hispanic 28 Asian/Other 4	White 82 Black 1 Hispanic 13 Asian/Other 3
Financial situation	Receiving ESAA grant, otherwise low level of resources	No ESAA initially, equivalent level allocated for desegregation from general funds
Experience of faculty in target classrooms	All teachers had some previous experience with minority children	All teachers had some previous experience with minority children
Staff development	Received no training prior to plan implementation	Received no training prior to plan implementation
Ethnic distribution at schools studied (%)	1 2 3 4 White 16 69 80 21 Black 84 19 Hispanic 0 8 20 79 Asian/Other 0 3 0 (1978 figures)	1 2 White 75 26 Black 1 5 Hispanic 19 49 Asian/Other 4 20 (1979 figures)

From Beckum and Dasho, Volume I: Overview and Research Design of Field Study II, MESE Report 80-10A.

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III. THE SETTING

This chapter will first present brief descriptions (sketches) of the two schools and the six classrooms of the validation study. The case studies of classrooms provide more complete descriptions (Beckum and Dasho, MESE Report 80-10B).

The two schools which were part of the validation study in Vista Grande represented two diverse settings and models for desegregating schools. Shepherd School, where three classrooms were observed,* was a back-to-basics magnet retaining the predominantly white population of the community. Whitman's ELP magnet for gifted students drew a predominantly white student population different from the predominantly minority mix of the total school. All four classrooms in the ELP were observed. Both of these programs implemented in response to court-ordered desegregation were different from the types of classrooms observed in the MESE exploratory study in Valley City, where four classrooms in four different schools were observed as part of that district's desegregation plan (also court-ordered).

Brief Sketches of the Schools and Classrooms

Figures 3 and 4 present data on the demographic composition and classroom organization in the six classrooms observed in the validation study for comparison with the four classrooms in the exploratory study.

Shepherd School was located in a predominantly lower middle-class white area of Vista Grande. The Shepherd faculty was composed entirely of white women with an older average age than any other school in the district. Because it was threatened with closure due to falling enrollment, the school had applied

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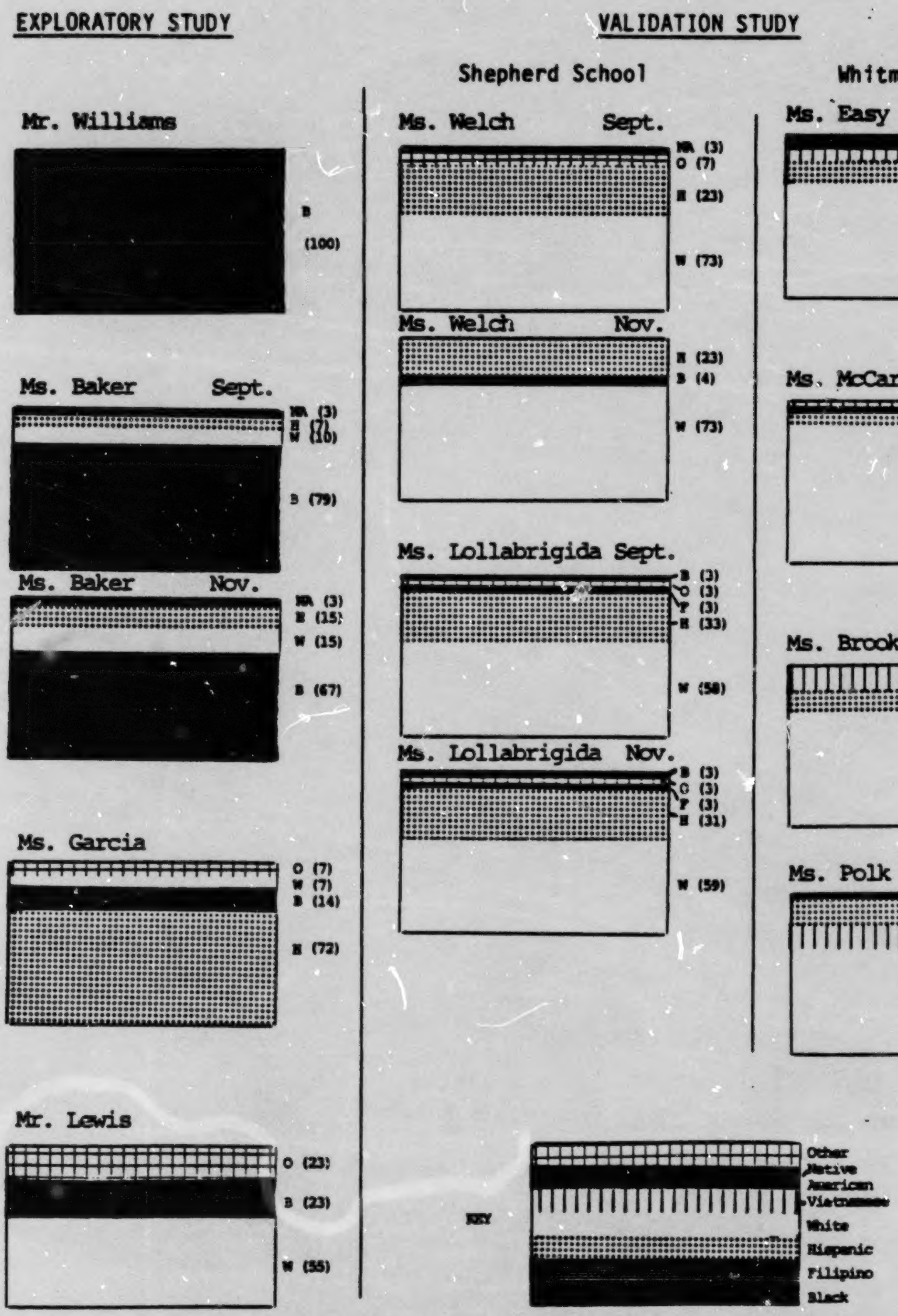
* One classroom at the second grade level was observed at Shepherd School, but was not included in analysis for comparison purposes because all other classes observed in the two studies were upper grades.

Figure 3

ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION



for participation in the desegregation magnet program. Its conservatism was reflected by the fact that the "fundamentals" magnet program required no changes in teachers' customary practice. The school took pride in having tight discipline and higher test scores than the district averages. There were no instructional aides in the classrooms.

Ms. Lollabrigida was three years from retirement--an event which she frequently mentioned. She had taught at Shepherd for 25 years, and was generally looked up to by the other teachers. For the past 10 years she had taught a fifth/sixth grade combination class, this year consisting of 17 whites, 9 Spanish-surnamed, one black, one Japanese-Hispanic, and one Filipino (59 percent whites, 41 percent minorities). Later on in the school year there were two black students. Ms. Lollabrigida's teaching style emphasizied a back-to-basics approach and creation of a "pleasant atmosphere."

Instruction consisted of one group (divided by grade or reading group) doing independent seatwork on workbook or text assignments while the teacher worked either collectively or individually with the other group. Whole class instruction was used for math and social studies. Enrichment activities included glee club and square dancing with other classes.

Classroom management could be characterized as emphasizing politeness and quiet restrained behavior. Students remained in their seats except to execute classroom jobs. Ms. Lollabrigida was free with praise and was in firm control. Little disrupted the completion of work in her classroom.

Ms. Lollabrigida did not believe that children from different cultural backgrounds varied in learning or interpersonal styles and needs. Therefore, she made no effort to address sensitivity to cultural diversity. Cooperative learning interactions were not a part of this teacher's approach.

Ms. Welch had 15 years of teaching experience, some of which were with minority children. Her third/fourth combination was changed to a fourth-grade class with seven minority students (1 black, 6 Mexican-American) in a class of twenty-six (73 percent whites, 27 percent minorities). by later in the school year, during follow-up observations, Ms. Welch had more class changes and ended up with close to 50% white and 50% minority students, including mostly Hispanic and two blacks, one part-Vietnamese, and one Pacific Islander) (Dasho and Leventhal, MESE Report 81-15). This final class of Ms. Welch's was the most balanced of all classes in both studies in terms of majority/minority racial/ethnic mix.

Her attitude toward teaching was that she must portray an image of forcefulness and seriousness. Instruction consisted primarily of review questions drawn from textbooks, and short lectures at the board followed by written, seatwork assignments. Students were to seek the teacher's help when working on their individual seatwork. Ms. Welch's classroom management was based on standard patterns of action varying little from day to day. Expectations for students' behavior were iterated in a harsh manner when students acted up. Punishment such as denial of recess or writing lines ("I will not ________") was used, as was humiliation in front of peers.

The classroom offered little opportunity for the development of social skills and the encouragement of positive self-esteem. An immigrant herself, Ms. Welch believed that students should use education to help them successfully assimilate into American culture as she had done. She did not attempt to address the issue of prejudice or use multicultural materials or activities.

Whitman School itself and the four teachers' classes observed there present marked contrasts to Shepherd School and the four classrooms observed in the exploratory study (with the possible exception of Mr. Lewis' class in some respects). Whitman School is a "downtown" school located in a community of Mexican-Americans, Vietnamese, and whites. As part of the desegregation plan it implemented a mini-magnet of four classrooms for ELP (MGM) students to attract white students from the suburban areas. While the school as a whole is 40 percent Vietnamese and 40 percent Hispanic,* the mini-magnet is approximately 70 percent white (ranging from 65% in Ms. Polk's fourth-grade class to 86% in Ms. McCarthy's class). All students in these classes were identified as gifted. The four classrooms adjoined each other in a large open-space area and were operated effectively separately from the rest of the school. Because of the tremendous overcrowding at the school (750 children in a facility designed for 450) portable classrooms occupy most of what had been the playing field. Whitman's faculty was ethnically mixed, but all teachers in the ELP program are white women (in their 30's and 40's). While each class was essentially self-contained, some team teaching was used. More team teaching began by January, after the resource teacher and three aides were added to the ELP (after funds were finally made available). Tutors from the nearby state college were frequent visitors to the ELP.

Ms. McCarthy is in her early forties and has taught a variety of students including inner-city blacks, psychotic children, Hispanics, Samoans, and Vietnamese and ESL. This was her eighth year at Whitman. At the time of observations her sixth-grade class consisted of twenty-five whites, two Spanish-surnamed, one Asian and one black student--the "whitest" class she had ever taught (86 percent whites, 14 percent minorities)--even though the ELP was part of the district's desegregation program.

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* In this report the terms "Hispanic," "Spanish-surnamed," "Mexican-American," and "Latino" are used interchangeably.

Ms. McCarthy's teaching emphasized personalized interactions with students and students' active involvement in decision-making. Curriculum emphasized language arts (including drama, poetry, creative writing, grammar instruction, and journal writing). Mathematics was the only subject taught with ability groups and involved small-group instruction followed by individual seatwork. Additional academic offerings included geometrical structure-building, learning centers dealing with problem solving, and calligraphy.

Most of Ms. McCarthy's classroom rules were flexibly enforced and open to negotiation. Students talked continuously and were free to move about during work periods. Her application of Assertive Discipline was selective--more often than not the teacher worked out problems individually.

A key feature of this classroom was that the teacher did not want to be viewed as an authority figure and introduced democratic decision-making to solve issues (such as assigning parts for plays). This moral socialization in aiaring the values and choices possible in the classroom setting, as well as the encouragement of cooperative learning on various assignments tended to encourage social inclusion and recognition of others' feelings among students.

Ms. Easy is in her forties and had worked for 17 years in the district as a regular elementary school teacher, in programs for the gifted, and in establishing media centers. Her present fifth-grade class in the ELP magnet included 19 whites, three Spanish-surnamed, two Asian, one black and one Filipino (73 percent whites, and 27 percent minorities).

Her teaching style featured an emphasis on developing "self-responsibility" (academic and personal autonomy) in children and respect for others' rights and beliefs. She utilized individualized learning plans with contracts and ability grouping in language arts and mathematics. Discussion and recitation were emphasized along with independent and cooperative seatwork. Students were encouraged to incorporate their own experiences or openness into discussions of literature and current events.

Ms. Easy was quick to monitor students who were off-task. Students were free to move about the room if they were not fooling around. Talking out was discouraged during seatwork and disallowed during recitation. Assignments were tracked in detailed charts, and students were often asked to "prioritize" their time. Personalized praise and discussions of misbehavior were handled privately while group praise and desist moves were public. Assertive Discipline techniques were used in a consistent manner. The teacher was humorous and physically affectionate with the students.

While the teacher indicated that the magnet program would design a multicultural social studies program to be introduced in the spring, no specific activities designed to encourage social integration were in evidence. Her class did frequently have informal discussions in which cultural (rather than specifically ethnic) pluralism was recognized. Cooperative work was an important part of the classroom.

Ms. Polk is in her mid thirties and had been teaching for 11 years, six of them in special education classes. She enjoyed her new experience with gifted students, but was distraught over the noise and distraction of the open-space classrooms. She was casual and personable with her fourth-grade students whose ethnic classification includes 17 whites, four Spanish-surnamed (Peruvian and Mexican-American), four Vietnamese, and one Filipino (65 percent whites, 35 percent minorities).

Ms. Polk's instructional practices emphasized basic skills, especially reading, as well as choice and variation for students. Students received small-group instruction and teacher-led discussions, but also worked independently on seatwork assignments (contracts), visited learning centers where cooperative tasks were possible, and did independent projects in art, sewing, reading, or computers.

This teacher's classroom management style included generous praise, rewards of computer time, and often-sarcastic verbal sanctions. Assertive Discipline was used consistently, but Ms. Polk felt it was not effective. She decried the open-space classroom because it deprived her of the quietness she preferred and had been used to in prior classrooms.

Ms. Polk included some assignments which addressed multicultural issues and also made some statements in class praising cultural diversity. However, there seemed to be a split between whites and minorities in the class, partially due to language difficulties.

Ms. Brooks is in her mid thirties and was returning to teaching the year of the study following a two-year absence after seven years with the district. Her experience included teaching students of many ethnic backgrounds. Her fourth/fifth-grade combination class had the following ethnic breakdown: 18 whites, three Spanish-surnamed, and four Vietnamese (72 percent whites, 28 percent minorities).

Ms. Brooks believed she should provide organized information to enhance basic skill development while encouraging students to think creatively and share their ideas. She emphasized reading and creative writing (journal writing, pleasure and assigned reading times, and creative writing related to reading assignments). Whole-class and small-group instruction were presented for math and reading, but most of the teacher's time was spent monitoring and individually instructing students at their desks during independent seatwork activities. The skill subjects were complimented by interesting art and science projects.

Ms. Brooks' classroom management was inconsistent. She often ignored disruptive misbehavior and applied Assertive Discipline techniques only sporadically. Often the teacher did not carry out upon consequences she had stated in reprimanding off-task students. She believed in the importance of good study habits and attempted to institute an individualized time management accounting system for her class.

There was little in the curriculum aimed at promoting goals of cultural pluralism other than one story dealing with racial prejudice. Opportunities for confronting issues of cultural diversity which arose in discussions among students were generally cut off by the teacher. Her timidity in disciplining disruptive white students created situations in which soft-spoken students (including the Vietnamese) were shortchanged when participating in discussions.

IV. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS OF VALIDATION STUDY: TEACHING PHILOSOPHIES AND PRACTICES

The two teachers in the back-to-basics magnet at Shepherd School and four teachers in the ELP magnet at Whitman School were observed all day each day by ethnographers over the course of several weeks in the fall. Data from fieldnotes of these observations, teacher interviews and daily reports, and student interviews were subsequently analyzed according to a number of topics considered important to multiethnic education. The analyses were designed to examine the issues discussed by the data analysts for the exploratory study (see Beckum & Dasho, MESE Report 79-1c). Information from follow-up observations (S.J. Dasho, Ed., MESE Report 819) and a series of mini-field studies, referred to as responsive follow-up investigations (MESE Report 81-15), conducted later in the school year, are noted where they enhance, refine, or illuminate the findings.

A. Teaching Philosophies and Beliefs

Table 3 summarizes major elements in the teaching belief systems of the two Shepherd teachers and four Whitman teachers in the validation study. Areas discussed below include those described for the exploratory study teachers: goals for students, expectations, how they view students, attitudes toward themselves as professionals, and attitudes concerning desegregation. All of these aspects of teacher belief systems may influence teachers' attitudes and approaches toward multicultural education and toward students of different ethnic/cultural backgrounds.

1. Goals Emphasized for Students

All teachers in the validation study emphasized first and foremost the academic goals for students, including acquisition of skills, good work habits, and responsibility for completing work. The Whitman teachers, with their gifted

TABLE 3

TEACHING PHILOSOPHIES AND BELIEFS

	Goals Emphasized			Expectations for Students	View of Students	Professional Self-Concept	Attitudes Toward Desegregation
	Intellectual Development	Socio-emotional Development	Physical Development				
Lollabrigida	+	+		High for effort, behavior	All similar	+	Assimilationist Busing causes disruption but balance good in class
Welch	+			High	All similar	+	No advantage Education is means for assimilation
McCarthy	+	+		High	Individuals	+	Ambivalent Critical of Whitman plan
Easy	+	+		High	Individuals Didn't perceive students in ethnic categories	+	In favor (but at beginning of observation, she herself was not aware of how many of her students were minorities
Polk	+	+		High	Individuals (extremely conscious of unique individualities & needs	+	Sympathy Rejected forced busing Multiculturalist, not assimilationist
Brooks	+	Expressed but not in practice	+	High	Individuals	Least positive	In favor

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students, also emphasized the importance of broader intellectual development, including creativity and love of learning.

None of the teachers in this study stressed social development as more important than academic development, as did two of the teachers in the exploratory study (the two who were considered the more effective teachers). However, three teachers--Ms. Lollabrigida at Shepherd, Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy at Whitman--explicitly referred to socioemotional goals in their teaching. Ms. Lollabrigida felt a responsibility to instill a sense of personal worth in her students. Ms. McCarthy believed that academic and socioemotional development should be considered interconnected, particularly for gifted children. Ms. Easy felt strongly that basic skills and study habits need to be acquired in a context fostering socioemotional growth. Ms. McCarthy, Ms. Easy and Ms. Lollabrigida also tried to understand socioemotional effects of the children's home lives.

Ms. Polk concurred that socioemotional development was important for children but she was ambivalent about teachers having a responsibility for it. Ms. Polk and Ms. Brooks had less explicit beliefs about students' socioemotional development; nonetheless, it appeared to be an implicit part of their goal for students, as they indicated concern as teachers for their students' social and emotional well being. Ms. Welch, however, was the only teacher in the validation study who showed disregard for students' socioemotional development. She was solely concerned that students persist in completing work even in the face of failure and consciously used teaching tactics, such as anxiety induction, that work against promotion of student self-worth and feelings of success.

One teacher in the exploratory study (Mr. Lewis) stressed children's physical development as an important teaching goal. Likewise, only one teacher in the validation study, Ms. Brooks, mentioned this goal as important. She felt that exercise, play, and relaxation were important parts of the school day.

2. Expectations for Students

All six teachers in the validation study had high expectations for their students. At Shepherd, with its emphasis on teaching the basics, the teachers expected students to acquire the necessary knowledge and skills to achieve grade-level performance. At Whitman, the teachers in the gifted magnet program quite naturally held high expectations for their students; however, their expectations were aimed at full intellectual development (not just achievement of specific standardized goals), creativity, and joy of learning.

3. Views of Students

A basic difference existed between the two schools in the ways the teachers viewed their students. The Shepherd teachers looked at students as all basically the same as each other, whereas the Whitman teachers saw them very much as individuals with varying strengths and weaknesses, even though their students were "gifted."

Ms. Polk especially seemed extremely conscious of the unique individualities of her students and provided rich descriptive profiles of her students emphasizing their unique qualities. Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy recognized and responded to their students' individual needs. It is interesting to note that, while Ms. Easy recognized the desirability of desegregation and the individualities of her pupils, she nevertheless did not perceive her pupils according to racial/ethnic categories until she specifically attempted an exercise to do so.

4. Professional Self-Attitudes

The teachers can be described as having generally positive attitudes toward themselves as professionals. Both Shepherd teachers, Ms. Lollabrigida and Ms. Welch, along with their other colleagues at the school, maintained a special pride in their teaching styles emphasizing fundamentals and in their accomplishments higher-than-district-average performance by students. Ms. Brooks, at Whitman, was less certain about her teaching situation than the others, as she expressed concerns about her two-year absence from teaching, as well as the newness of the magnet program. She often indicated frustration and insecurity with the open classroom situation and with problems managing her class. She apparently felt basically good about the profession of teaching but appeared to be suffering from frustrations and self-doubts relating to her current situation. Ms. Polk, as well, continually felt frustrated by the open classroom situation and at times became upset, saying she did not want to be in such a teaching situation again.

As the year progressed, the Whitman teachers all underwent increasing tensions and frustrations caused by the open space environment and consequent needs to coordinate with each other, their separation from the rest of the school and hostile attitudes of other teachers, and interruptions in teaching schedules (particularly after the resource teacher arrived and offered special programs in the afternoons). Ms. Easy suffered additional tensions with the other magnet teachers, as she had not participated in the teachers' strike at the beginning of the year. However, all but Ms. Brooks appeared to retain quite secure and positive feelings about their own teaching.

5. Attitudes Toward Desegregation

With their assimilationist views at Shepherd, desegregation was not a salient concern for Ms. Lollabrigida and Ms. Welch. Ms. Lollabrigida did feel a racial/ethnic balance was desirable in classes, but felt busing caused disruptions. Ms. Welch felt that there was no advantage to desegregation, that education should be assimilationist rather than multicultural, and that minorities could succeed in their own schools. She was not anti-desegregation but rather pro-assimilation and did not see any merit in taking special measures to achieve desegregation.

The Whitman teachers were more sympathetic to desegregation but nevertheless had some ambivalence. Ms. McCarthy saw herself as a multicultural teacher and saw desegregation as a desirable ideal but felt there were resulting problems. She was critical of the Whitman plan in particular, feeling it did not really address or solve desegregation issues. The other three Whitman teachers were more sympathetic to desegregation as a concept. Ms. Easy believed desegregation was important but she (along with the other ELP teachers) was more committed to the goal of gifted education than to the goal of desegregation in the magnet program. Ms. Polk can be described as multiculturalist and in sympathy with desegregation but was opposed to forced busing. Ms. Brooks was the only teacher apparently openly favoring both desegregation and the Whitman magnet program as a response to achieve it. She felt the program was successful to some degree in achieving racial balance, but she felt the district's efforts in desegregation were somewhat disorganized.

It is important to note that the teachers' skepticism toward desegregation and its implementation in Vista Grande resulted in some measure from the fact that minorities were so underrepresented in the program: the Whitman ELP was mostly white and separated from the mostly minority school housing it, and Shepherd's minority population actually declined from the previous year.

B. Instructional Practices*

Table 4 summarizes each of the six teachers' instructional practices in the areas of ability grouping, instructional grouping, curricular variety, multiethnic focus, motivation for task engagement, teachers' adaptation to students, and changes in teachers' plans. The following sections will compare and contrast the teachers on these practices.

1. Ability Grouping

It is important to be aware of the use of ability grouping in desegregated classrooms. If such grouping effectively places whites in one group and minorities in another, it works against the goals of desegregation by bringing about a form of segregation within the class. Both teachers at Shepherd used ability grouping to some extent, especially in reading instruction. Ms. Lollabrigida, who taught a fifth/sixth grade combination, divided students into fifth- and sixth-grade groups in language arts and math, probably at least partly a response to instructing two different grades with their own designated curricula to be covered.

As a whole, Whitman teachers used ability grouping slightly less than Shepherd teachers, probably due to the more homogeneous grouping of students in the gifted magnet program and more time in the instructional day devoted to non-basic and enrichment activities. However, three of the teachers, Ms. McCarthy, Ms. Easy, and Ms. Brooks, used ability grouping in mathematics instruction (as they found more skill variation among their gifted students in math than in other subjects); and Ms. Easy used ability grouping in language arts as well. It did not appear that ability grouping within the Vista Grande classrooms separated students by ethnicity in any tracking effect. However,

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* For a detailed discussion, see S.J. Dasho (Ed.), Analysis of Teacher Planning and Instructional Practice, MESE Report 811.

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Table 4

INSTRUCTIONAL PRACTICES

	Ability Grouping	Predominant Instructional Grouping	Curricular Variety (Subj.Matter, Materials)	Multiethnic Practices or Content	Motivation for Task Engagement	Adaptation to Students	Change in Teacher Plans
Lollabrigida	5th & 6th grade groups in lang. arts, math; worked separately with groups of slower students Ability groups (2) in reading	Independent seatwork; whole group	0	0 (Planned some later in year)	+ Strict control of questioning; students seemed enthusiastic	Adapted questioning strategy to individual students	Very few; would change plans to accommodate promised activity
Welch	Reading	Whole group; independent seatwork; small groups in reading	0	0	Anxiety; public embarrassment; keep students busy & moving along; (mostly negative motivation e.g.,goading & criticing); students often seemed bored, tuned out	Little apparent	Very few until class shifted from 3rd/4th to solely a 4th grade
McCarthy	Math only	Individualized work; contracts; cooperative; some whole class	+	0	+ Respond to student preferences, give responsibility to students	+ Key to instruction	+ Much flexibility
Ms. Easy	Language arts, math	Variety of whole group; individualized; cooperative	+	Seldom	+ Personalizing instruction, variety of flexibility in instruction, student self-responsibility & control	+	+ When planned activities judged not effective by T; progress of students; response to administration
Ms. Polk *only T who consciously planned M-C curriculum	- Math	Independent (individualized); small group; whole class	+	+ As part of literature curriculum (more planned later)*	+ Personal interaction with students	+	+
Ms. Brooks	0	Independent seatwork;some whole group, small group	+ Compared to Shepherd (may be less than other Whitman Ts)	0 Planned the following year	0 (Mechanical, hurried)	+ (Work with individual students)	+ (Constantly in response to students, admin. procedures, scheduling problems, time demands

the ELP magnet at Whitman did set the majority white gifted students apart from the predominantly minority students in the rest of the school.

2. Instructional Grouping Practices

Both Shepherd teachers used primarily a combination of teacher-centered whole-group instruction and independent seatwork. Smaller ability groups in reading essentially followed the same instructional pattern. Both teachers emphasized recitation in whole-group and reading-group instruction, which was often followed by or alternated with independent seatwork. No cooperative group activities were observed in either Ms. Lollabrigida's or Ms. Welch's classes. Ability grouping that was practiced within classes did not in general appear to favor or disfavor students according to ethnicity. Teachers at Shepherd did not provide the means that Whitman teachers did (e.g., cooperative activities) to overcome the potential barrier effect of ability grouping on social interaction.

All four Whitman teachers used a combination of individualized, whole-group and small-group instruction, although they varied somewhat in their emphases on these types of instruction. Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy were relatively more student-centered (Ms. McCarthy more so) and Ms. Polk and Ms. Brooks relatively more teacher-centered in their instruction. Cooperative activities were observed often at Whitman, particularly in Ms. McCarthy's and Ms. Easy's classrooms: cooperative work was built into the ELP magnet program.

In follow-up observations, Ms. Welch began to experiment with peer tutoring in math (a type of cooperative instructional activity) and had more student involvement in discussions. Ms. Lollabrigida followed much the same instructional patterns as before, but there was more looseness in the way her class was run.

At Whitman, there were some fundamental instructional changes due to a resource teacher and three aides being added to the ELP after federal funds were finally available after Christmas. There was a greater emphasis on cooperative activities in special projects and considerable time was spent on perceptual arts, field trips, and other special activities under the direction of the resource teacher. Most of the Whitman ELP teachers consequently felt constrained because of the interference of these special activities with their normal teaching activities and schedules. Ms. Polk had probably the most significant instructional changes--she increased cooperative activities in her classroom for a time (including the Berkeley science project), but by the end of March, independent seatwork was predominantly observed; she also gave more emphasis to "personal growth" through contracts to stimulate responsibility and creativity.

3. Curricular Variety

Both Shepherd teachers had fairly restricted curricular variety in terms of both subject matter and materials, consistent with the back-to-basics emphasis of the school. Ms. Lollabrigida may have had slightly more variety in subject matter as she also had social studies instruction while Ms. Welch did not. Ms. Lollabrigida allowed free reading at times for those who finished assigned work, while Ms. Welch offered a creative writing lesson once a week. Within each subject matter, each of these two teachers used designated curricular materials--publisher series and workbooks.

As might be expected, owing to the gifted student population and the open classroom environment, Whitman teachers used a much wider variety of both subject matter and curricular materials in their instruction, compared with Shepherd teachers. Enrichment activities, including academic centers and computer work, were an important part of the curriculum. In general, it appeared that Ms. Brooks used less variety in her curriculum than the other Whitman teachers, although she did include creative activities wherever she could and integrated many of these into the basic skill areas. Ms. Polk also seemed to use less variety than either Ms. McCarthy or Ms. Easy. It should be pointed out, however, that Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy taught older students than Ms. Polk and Ms. Brooks did: a wider curricular variety may have been more appropriate for the slightly older students.

While curricular variety remained relatively the same for the Shepherd teachers during the follow-up observations, there was even greater variety in the curriculum of the Whitman teachers, mainly due to the addition of a myriad of field trips and other special activities after the resource teacher was hired.

4. Multiethnic Practices in the Classroom

Considering the assimilationist views of both Shepherd teachers, it is not surprising that neither one was observed to have a multiethnic component in the curriculum. Ms. Lollabrigida did plan a social studies unit later in the year that would focus on people who made America great. The ethnographers who observed Ms. Lollabrigida's class reported four instances during the observation period when multicultural issues might have been brought into the planned curriculum but were not. No such opportunities were observed in Ms. Welch's class.

There was little evidence of multiethnic content or focus at Whitman in either the curriculum or in the instructional activities. One teacher, Ms. Polk, did utilize some opportunities to focus on multicultural themes: she often focused discussion on the various cultures of her students (such as Vietnamese and Hispanic). Multicultural themes were also a part of Ms. Polk's literature curriculum: these included historical stories about blacks and Native Americans (and thus expanding multicultural knowledge beyond the ethnic makeup of the class itself, as the class contained no black or Native American students). Ms. Polk was also the only teacher who specifically considered multicultural issues in future plans, although even these plans were somewhat vague (and it is conceivable that expression of such plans was prompted by the ethnographer's interview) and concerned inclusion of the topic of Chinese labor in building railroads as part of the social studies curriculum.

In Ms. Easy's class, there were some occasions when discussion focused on various languages spoken in California. Ms. Easy also explained some of the history of black spirituals during a music lesson to all the ELP classes. Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Brooks were not observed to have any multicultural focus in their classrooms, although Ms. Brooks indicated that a study of culture was to be added the following year.

During follow-up observations later in the school year (January through May) both Ms. Lollabrigida and Ms. Welch at Shepherd were found to include some multicultural focus in their curricula. In Ms. Lollabrigida's class, reading materials included an article on Vietnamese immigrants, which sparked a spinoff discussion of bilingual education and various languages spoken at home by students' families. By and large, however, opportunities for multicultural issues were not utilized by Ms. Lollabrigida, and when they were they tended to reinforce traditional American values such as assimilation, holiday traditions, and roles of women. Multicultural materials also appeared in several stories in Ms. Welch's reading program where attempts were made during discussions to relate the stories to personal experiences.

There were no reported follow-up observations of multicultural topics in Ms. Easy's class. However, several instances occurred in both Ms. Polk's and Ms. Brooks' classrooms. Ms. Polk had a discussion of language, but the emphasis was on the importance of everyone knowing English because it is the dominant language. Chinese New Year exercises included learning calligraphy, Chinese numerals, and Chinese writing. A filmstrip with a specific multicultural focus, which was a planned part of the social studies program for the ELP was little used and thus abandoned by the teachers.

Ms. Brooks' class had discussions revolving around stories with several social issues as themes, such as discrimination, freedom, anti-semitism, and interracial friendship. Her social studies curriculum also included lectures and discussions on such topics as slavery and causes of the Civil War. These topics were potentially rich for expanding multicultural knowledge, but they were capitalized on minimally at best.

5. Motivation for Task Engagement

Of the two Shepherd teachers, Ms. Lollabrigida appeared to have the students who were more motivated for task engagement, as evidenced by their enthusiasm in class for answering the teachers' questions. Although in Ms. Welch's class, many students constantly evidenced great eagerness to answer teacher-posed questions, a certain number of students, on the other hand, often appeared to be bored and "tuned out." Perhaps this was due to Ms. Welch's style of being critical of students and reprimanding them for being careless, slow, or inaccurate. Both teachers relied on strict control as a means of keeping students on task and getting them to complete work. Ms. Welch consciously used anxiety as a preferred motivation technique.

There was a basic difference between Shepherd and Whitman teachers in their means of encouraging task involvement among their students. Several factors may account for such a difference: teaching beliefs and philosophies/ goals of the teachers; goals of the two different magnet programs as well as of the different schools; and the different student populations.

Whitman teachers relied much more on encouraging student ideas, preferences, and initiative and using these in their instruction. They also used more personal (less formal) styles of interacting with and responding to students. They were more student-centered in their instruction, compared with Shepherd teachers who were entirely teacher-centered. Among Whitman teachers, Ms. Brooks evidenced the greatest lack of student motivation and involvement, particularly in basic skills, possibly because of her lack of overt enthusiasm and her soft-spoken style. Yet, she provoked enthusiasm during unusual creative assignments.

It is difficult to compare the six teachers in degree of student enthusiasm and involvement. Each was generally successful in obtaining both. In the Shepherd classes, such was evidenced by student attention and active (indeed, excited) desire to answer teacher questions during recitation. At Whitman, the wide variety of student activity and participation indicated involvement. Coded student behavior in the socioemotional analysis indicated high percentages of student enthusiasm in both Shepherd classes, relative to all but Ms. Easy's class at Whitman. However, low percentages of student enthusiasm coded in the other three Whitman classrooms may be misleading. There were many types of activities fostering enthusiasm that were built into the ELP program as a regular part of instruction: thus, with a high level of enthusiasm being the norm in these classrooms, it was not a particularly noteworthy aspect of classroom happenings for the ethnographers to capture in their fieldnotes. However, the case study reports give sufficient evidence of enthusiasm in these classes.

6. Adaptation to Students and Changes in Planning

Both Shepherd teachers favored careful prior planning of lessons and following of strict routines. Therefore there was little evidence of schedule changes or adaptation to students occurring in either class. Ms. Lollabrigida was observed, however, to be sensitive to students' feelings of embarrassment in answering questions during recitation and would adapt her questioning strategy to help insure an individual student's success in answering. To the contrary, Ms. Welch was found to hurry all students and to be critical of them when they couldn't provide the correct answers--she believed in promoting anxiety and failure as a means of forcing students to deal with and learn to overcome stress.

A dramatic difference between schools occurred in degree of teacher adaptation to students and changes in teacher plans. Whereas at Shepherd, with its more restricted curriculum and its agenda of specified knowledge to be imparted to students, teachers relied almost entirely on preactive planning and adapting students to the plans, at Whitman there was a great emphasis on interactive planning--responding to students, adapating instruction to individual students, and making changes in plans and instruction in response to students' performance and interest and a variety of external factors. The Shepherd teachers were rigid in following their plans, while the Whitman teachers were quite flexible and focused to a greater degree on individual students' needs.

Ms. Welch was particularly rigid in wanting to follow a set routine without disruptions. She was forced to make major changes in plans, however, when her class was shifted from a third/fourth combination with only a few fourth graders, to a straight fourth-grade class six weeks into the school year. This administrative reassignment of students required her to change her curriculum completely and modify instruction somewhat to accommodate the different level of students. The ethnographers noted that after the switch to a fourth-grade class, the teacher seemed to spend less time being aggravated by her students and more time on instructional materials. This may have been due to the ability of the slightly older students to follow her lecture/discussions and thus remain more involved in the lessons. Ms. Lollabrigida rarely was observed to change teaching plans and then only due to disruptions that she felt could not be overcome according to plans.

7. Changes in Instructional Practices Over the Year

Follow-up observations after Christmas revealed some changes in instructional practices, relatively smaller changes at Shepherd and more major changes at Whitman. Ms. Lollabrigida's instructional practices remained about the same as during the main observation period. Some multicultural themes did appear in the reading curriculum, but any discussion of them tended to reinforce traditional American values rather than the merits of other cultures in and of themselves. In Ms. Welch's class, there was more student involvement in discussions and seatwork than earlier. The teacher also began to use peer tutoring in math, introduced multicultural content in reading, and initiated more variety in the curriculum with a unit on nutrition and a creative exercise building structures with toothpicks.

A major change occurred for all the ELP teachers at Whitman with the hiring of a resource teacher and three aides through special funding received. With the additional staff, there were more cooperative activities and a number of special projects, field trips, and extracurricular activities. As a result, the four regular teachers began to experience greater tensions among themselves, as well as considerable restrictions on time and work completion in their own instructional programs. As the year progressed, Ms. Polk tended to emphasize more all-class instruction on a rug in the corner of the room in order to overcome the noise of the open space classroom.

C. Classroom Management Practices

Table 5 summarizes classroom management practices of the six teachers at Shepherd and Whitman schools. The following aspects of classroom management were evaluated for the exploratory study and will be used as the framework for this discussion: clarity of rules and consistenty of enforcement; flexibility and rigidity; warmth and affection; positive and negative control strategies; and preventive strategies. The exploratory study, as well as previous research (see Crist-Whitzel, MESE Report 805, for a discussion) have demonstrated the importance of these management practices, which can be especially crucial in establishing and maintaining a productive learning environment in a heterogeneous classroom, such as in a newly desegregated setting.

1. Clarity of Rules and Consistency of Enforcement

At Shepherd, both Ms. Lollabrigida and Ms. Welch operated their classrooms with explicit and extensive rules governing mobility in the classroom, politeness, structure of daily activities, and completing homework. These rules were consistent with the school's expectations for student behavior and were consistently enforced by the teachers and followed by the students.

In contrast, at Whitman there were relatively few rules governing behavior in the ELP classrooms: thus, it is difficult to compare rule clarity and enforcement consistency with Shepherd. It is possible that teachers felt that detailed rules were not necessary or desirable for their gifted students and open classroom setting. Rules that did exist were often less explicit than at Shepherd but seemed to be understood, accepted, and followed by students. Ms. Polk perhaps had a greater number of explicit rules, relating to classroom and homework procedures, than did the other Whitman teachers observed. At Whitman

TABLE 5

CLASSROOM MANAGEMENT PRACTICES

	Clarity of Rules	Consistency in Enforcement	Flexibility (+) vs. Rigidity (-)	Acceptance, Warmth, Affection	Positive (+) vs. Negative (-)	Control Strategies	Preventive Strategies
Lollabrigida	+ Explicit	+ Strict	0	+	+	Formal sanctions; Internal sanctions; Threat, positive verbal sanctions; Compliments; Rewards	+
Welch	+	+	0	-	-	Stress/anxiety; individual criticism; seating arrangements; individual & group sanctions (e.g, denial of recess); verbal sanctions; social pressure	
McCarthy	+ Few--applied mainly to getting work done and minimizing disruption	- But often applied individually in consistent manner	+ Subject to negotiation	+	+	Behavior modification used selectively for individuals; Verbal reinforcement	+
Easy	+ Few--moving, talking, homework; more implicit	- But applied individually in consistent manner	+ Subject to negotiation	+	+	Verbal sanctions, positive and negative; physical contact; humor	+
Polk	+ More detailed set of rules	+	+ Less flexible than McCarthy or Easy but still some flexibility	+	±	+ Praise (spontaneous) Verbal reinforcement; Rewards; Verbal punishment	+
Brooks	+ Clearly stated; not followed by students	0 Not followed by some students	+ Chaotic	+	±	Verbal praise re behavior; rewards (verbal, stickers); threats, punishment inconsistent	0

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the rules that did exist were often not consistently enforced, with the possible exception of Ms. Polk's classroom. Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy "bent" the rules (but usually in a consistent way) for certain pupils who had some adjustment problems. However, the Whitman teachers (except for Ms. Brooks) did have well-controlled classrooms, and students seemed to understand and operate by the rules and expectations that did exist for governing classroom behavior. In Ms. Brooks' classroom, rules were stated clearly but were not consistently enforced: some students (particularly a group of white boys) simply did not follow them and the teacher was unable to make them do so. She did implement more effective management practices later in the year, with the help of the ethnographer (see Responsive Follow-Up Investigations, MESE Report 81-15), but eventually ceased follow-through, owing to the press of time and other frustrations.

2. Flexibility and Rigidity

As might be expected from the differing emphases and expectations of the two schools in the sample, teachers at Shepherd can be described as more rigid in their classroom management practices, whereas the Whitman teachers were generally more flexible, particularly Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy who often applied rules individually to students and negotiated rules with students. For example, in these classes, certain students were able to wander about the classroom considerably and still complete their work assignments: they were allowed to wander. However, such off-task activity was disruptive of work completion for other students who were thus not allowed to wander about the room. Ms. Polk appeared to be less flexible than Ms. McCarthy or Ms. Easy, but certainly was more flexible in applying rules than the Shepherd teachers.

3. Warmth and Affection

Of the Shepherd teachers, Ms. Lollabrigida can be described as being warm and affectionate toward her pupils. She used compliments, enthusiastic praise, smiles, and spontaneous physical displays of affection, such as hugging. Ms. Welch would not be described as warm or affectionate toward her pupils. In fact, she felt that children should not have a good time at school but should be serious and even experience some anxiety and failure as part of the learning process. She tended to be critical of students' efforts. The extent of her observed warmth and humanness in the classroom included one occasion of laughing and joking with students and an occasion when she admitted an error.

In general, the four Whitman teachers were warm and affectionate, or at least accepting of their students. Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy were particularly sensitive to maintaining mutual acceptance, respect, and equality between themselves and their students. Ms. Easy was a model of warmth, praise, and support of her students. The data analysts concurred that all teachers except Ms. Welch managed to convey acceptance and respect toward students, as well as an atmosphere of nurturance, praise, and tolerance, even though they varied in their styles. It was felt that Ms. Welch was the only teacher predominantly negative, critical, and harsh toward her students.

4. Positive versus Negative Control Strategies

As might be expected from the previous discussion, the only clearly negative teacher in terms of classroom control strategies was Ms. Welch at Shepherd. She was critical, harsh, and belittling, and provoked anxiety in students. She used denial of recess as a group sanction and used social pressure. She was observed using practically no positive reinforcing strategies.

All other teachers could be considered relatively positive in their attempts to manage student behavior, or at least equally positive and negative. The most consistently positive in control strategies were Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy at Whitman and Ms. Lollabrigida at Shepherd. Ms. Lollabrigida used her personal warmth effectively, even when angry, and used exceptional measures (e.g., a popcorn party) to reward good behavior.

Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy effectively used techniques of negotiation as a management strategy--to develop common understandings about rules and behavior. Ms. McCarthy used many positive verbal sanctions--given publicly to the group and privately to individuals. Ms. Easy used both verbal and physical nurturance and recognition to reward outstanding performance. She also effectively used reminders (often in the form of questions) to maintain on-task behavior.

Ms. Polk and Ms. Brooks could be described as using a more equal combination of both positive and negative control strategies. Ms. Polk appeared to use a wider variety of sanctions (positive and negative) than other teachers, but could be classified as more positive than negative overall in her strategies. She used the Assertive Discipline more formally and consistently than the other teachers. She effectively used stickers (on completed work), highly individualized and animated verbal praise and punishment (negative sanctions), physical positive sanctions (smiles, touching) and joking, and nonverbal punishment (physical touching, confiscation of undesired objects).

Ms. Brooks tried Assertive Discipline, traditional rewards (smiles, praise, stickers), threats of punishments, denial of computer time, having students put heads down, and confiscating undesired objectives. She was inconsistent in applying her control strategies and had serious problems in maintaining classroom order and keeping students on-task.

5. Preventive Strategies

Ms. Brooks, as the previous section would indicate, was the only teacher truly unable to use preventive techniques to maintain classroom order. Her classroom tended to have a somewhat chaotic atmosphere due to the teacher's inconsistent application of classroom control strategies.

Although varying in techniques used and degree of classroom order expected, the remaining teachers were able to maintain control of their classrooms and see that students followed classroom norms and kept on-task in their work. Ms. Lollabrigida and Ms. Welch were able to keep tight control through constant and effective monitoring of student behavior. Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy were able to establish common expectations of classroom order, with student acceptance and maintenance of this order through the process of negotiation. Ms. Polk used her sometimes animated personality to extract attention and compliance to her classroom rules.

6. Changes in Management Over the Year

There were some changes in teachers' classroom management practices over the year: follow-up observations showed greater looseness in Ms. Lollabrigida's class, with less concern about noise or mobility. Ms. Lollabrigida explained that such a change was consistent with her beliefs and teaching style: she used tighter control at the beginning and then was able to ease up later (a strategy used traditionally by many teachers).

Ms. McCarthy seemed to tighten control somewhat by increasing penalties for students not completing work; there appeared to be less noise and fooling around by her students in the follow-up period. Ms. Brooks made some serious attempts to implement new management techniques, but in the end she failed to carry through on these and again was inconsistent in enforcement. Overall improvement in classroom order could be attributed to the fact that two of her most persistent troublemakers left the program.

D. Moral Socialization*

The type of role teachers maintain for themselves, as well as the values they hold and the ways they impart them, have implications for moral socialization within their classrooms. Table 6 presents brief summaries of classroom norms (including accepted and unaccepted behavior and types of teacher authority), values, and socialization. The value orientations espoused explicitly or implicitly by the teacher have implications for the children's further socialization and for the degree of social integration in the classroom.

1. Behavior Rewarded and Punished

Both Shepherd teachers, Ms. Lollabrigida and Ms. Welch, rewarded good behavior and good work habits. Ms. Lollabrigida tried to see that her students were polite to others and behaved according to the routines and rules of the class; she likewise discouraged behavior such as rudeness or talking among students. Ms. Welch was more focused on academic behavior: she punished (usually by public humiliation) inattentiveness and academic mistakes, as well as improper behavior during recess or physical education.

The Whitman teachers tended to reward behavior exhibiting self-responsibility, active engagement in learning, and treating others with respect. Of the four teachers, Ms. Brooks was the most similar to the Shepherd teachers in being concerned with rewarding students for following more traditional and routine procedures such as paying attention and being orderly. However, Ms. Brooks had problems in controlling the class; thus, many rules and routines were rarely followed by her students, and the teacher was more focused on dealing with routines and behavior.

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*For detailed discussion of moral socialization practices of the six teachers, see S.J. Dasho (Ed.), Analysis of Moral Socialization, MESE Report 812.

TABLE 6

NORMS, VALUES AND SOCIALIZATION

	Behavior Rewarded	Behavior Punished	Authority	Work Values Inculcated	Reward Structures (competition/ cooperation)	Classroom Social System	Pluralism	Sex Roles
Lollabrigida	Politeness; Good behavior	Rudeness. Talking between students	Role and personal authority; warm but also firm	Task completion; Honesty, steadfastness. Traditional American values.	No cooperation. Atomistic but not competitive	No apparently strong friendships. Students atomized. Some inter-ethnic friendships.	Assimilationism (Everyone the same)	Traditiona
Welch	Good work habits.	Inattention Improper behavior. Academic mistakes.	Role authority; distance between teacher & students.	Serious attitude toward learning. Being prepared for work. Being accountable for own actions.	No cooperation. Competition encouraged.	Class unity in new (4th grade) class.	Assimilationism (Everyone the same)	Traditiona
McCarthy	Active engagement in learning.	Disruptive behavior.	Rejected traditional role of teacher. Alternated among equality with students; manager; moderator; director.	Explicit shared authority. Self-motivation. Creativity. Satisfaction from work. Personal investment.	Cooperation encouraged. Competition among students existed.	Some division between local & bused-in students. Most friendships dyadic.	Highlights uniqueness (Everyone is different)	Nontraditional. Encourages personal choice.
Easy	Basic respect for others. Self-responsibility.	Disruption of others. Off-task behavior preventing work completion.	Facilitative leadership. Emphasized role as individual not just teacher.	Explicit Responsibility for one's work Remaining on-task. Sense of fulfillment. Timely completion of products. Creativity. Knowing goals & working toward them.	Cooperation encouraged. Some playful competition.	Children friendly and involved with each other.	Limited pluralism presented	Nontraditional Encourages personal choice
Polk	Self-responsibility. Treat others with respect.	Not doing work. Disruptive behavior.	Teacher-centered leadership	Work completion. Completed work rewarded. Responsibility & seriousness about work. Love for work. Creativity.	Limited cooperation. More competitive work in core subjects.	Friendships appeared to follow racial/ ethnic lines. Racist behavior by a few students.	Structurally assimilationist but some spontaneous capitalization on diversity.	Nontraditional Encourages personal choice.
Brooks	Being orderly Paying attention. Following procedures.	Disruptive behavior. Wandering.		Responsibility for assignments. Creativity.	Weak encouragement of cooperation. No competition.	Fluid. Some division by race or geography	Assimilationism	Nontraditional

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Along with Shepherd teachers, the Whitman teachers punished disruptive behavior but tended to differ from them in their means of doing so. Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy had minimal rules in their classes, and even the enforcement of those few rules was negotiable and applied differentially for students, according to their degree of adjustment to the class and to their work habits: e.g., students who could wander about the room and still complete their assignments were given such latitude. Ms. Polk had few hard and fast rules for her students, but the rules which were in effect applied to all students and were not negotiable as in Ms. McCarthy's and Ms. Easy's classrooms.

Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy were the only teachers in the study who were observed to devote academic instruction time to class discussion of moral concerns--mostly relating to work values. In Ms. McCarthy's class there was a process of "talking it out" to clarify values in terms of what students were trying to accomplish and why: this occurred when it was apparent that the same values were not shared by the teacher and students or when the teacher perceived a discrepancy between the values adopted by the class and students' actual behavior. Ms. Easy capitalized on incidents in the classroom to discuss the nature of rules and contractual social life. These types of discussion were not observed in the other two classes at Whitman or the classes at Shepherd.

2. Authority

Both teachers at Shepherd exhibited more traditional and conservative roles of teacher authority than did the Whitman teachers. This type of authority was most personified by Ms. Welch who saw her role as being the authority figure and maintained distance between herself and her students. Ms. Lollabrigida was able to establish personal authority through her warmth and affection toward students as well as maintain a relatively formal and businesslike atmosphere.

Consistent with Whitman School's emphasis on creativity and self-responsibility in the ELP for gifted students, the four teachers in that program were much less rigid authority figures than the Shepherd teachers were. Ms. McCarthy in fact, rejected the traditional authority of the teacher and forced her students to share in decision making. She saw her role largely as a counselor, but also sometimes as manager, moderator, or director. Ms. Easy played a somewhat similar role, one she described as "facilitative leadership," less of an equality relationship such as Ms. McCarthy maintained with her students but nevertheless one which allowed a good deal of negotiation. Ms. Brooks maintained a personalized and motherly role with students on a one-to-one basis, but she had difficulty establishing a role in relation to the entire group at once.

3. Values Inculcated

There was a basic difference between the Shepherd and Whitman teachers in the kinds of values they promoted. In essence, Ms. Lollabrigida and Ms. Welch, at Shepherd, emphasized traditional work and social values that might prepare students for taking their places in the blue collar work force. Ms. Lollabrigida tried to instill in her students the value of following routines, of accepting and completing routine paper-and-pencil assignments, and being honest and steadfast in completing work. Ms. Welch seemed to equate schoolwork with labor and even viewed anxiety as an important motivator of learning.

At Whitman, where the ELP students were gifted and generally of a higher socioeconomic status than Shepherd students, the teachers promoted values more consistent with preparation for professional work. Ms. McCarthy explicitly put forth values of democratic (shared) decision making, self-motivation, creativity, personal satisfaction, and personal investment. Ms. Easy was also explicit and the other two Whitman teachers more implicit in promoting many of the same work values. As mentioned before, both Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy actually used instruction time to discuss work-related values; thus, the nature of their values was more explicit than the values of the other teachers.

4. Reward Structures (Cooperation/Competition)

At Shepherd, neither teacher was observed to encourage or utilize cooperative activities in the classroom. However, Ms. Lollabrigida also discouraged competition among students, whereas Ms. Welch encouraged it. However, in follow-up observations later in the year, Ms. Welch had instituted some peer tutoring, certainly one form of cooperative learning.

At Whitman there was a strong emphasis on cooperative activities, particularly in Ms. McCarthy's and Ms. Easy's classes. In Ms. McCarthy's class, even though the teacher actually encouraged cooperation, competitiveness was often also at least tacitly fostered as well in assignment objectives, such as seeing how high cooperative teams could build a structure or how many words they could derive from the letters in "Halloween." Students were also often observed to compete against each other--to see who was the "best" in a given academic or social area.

Ms. Polk and Ms. Brooks encouraged cooperation to a lesser degree. Ms. Polk felt she did not have the skills to facilitate cooperative activities. Competitive activities in basic skills were observed in Ms. Polk's class, while there was no evidence of competitiveness in Ms. Brooks' class.

5. Classroom Social System

There were no apparently consistent patterns in classroom social structures. Surprisingly, it seemed that one of the most socially integrated classes was Ms. Welch's, the class in which competition was encouraged and cooperation discouraged. In her all fourth-grade class, observations and sociograms corroborated the existence of one large cohesive team among the boys, with two minorities (1 Black, 1 Hispanic) as the most popular. The girls were largely grouped in overlapping friendship triads, with some minority members among the most popular. Ethnicity played very little part in friendships except for one triad of Hispanic girls. In fact, the students seemed to have little conception of race or ethnicity, even among their close friends. Assimilationism was the effective norm. However, such social integration was achieved without encouragement or intervention by Ms. Welch and existed more outside the classroom in play activities.

Perhaps the class with the highest degree of unity and interaction was Ms. Easy's. The observers noted a pattern of camaraderie and real concern among students for each other, probably fostered by the teacher's concern for students and by the many group activities in the classroom. This pattern of friendship appeared unrelated to race or ethnicity or whether students were local or bused.

No apparently strong friendships were noted in Ms. Lollabrigida's class, although some interethnic relationships flourished. In the remaining three classes at Whitman, in spite of the emphasis on cooperation, there appeared to be some divisions among students either by geography (local or bused) or racial/ethnic lines. The most overt interracial antipathy among students was found in Ms. Polk's class, instigated primarily by one white boy, who was overtly racist and seemed to influence racist behavior among a few other boys.

6. Pluralism

All of the teachers studied can be described as assimilationist in their views on multiculturalism. This view was most extreme at Shepherd where the teachers consciously refused to view children differently based on race, ethnicity, or cultural background. They steadfastly proclaimed their color blindness ("all children are the same") and maintained that they did not alter their instruction at all because of the school becoming part of the district's desegregation program. However, Ms. Lollabrigida was sensitive to noncultural aspects of home lives of her students and their ramifications in the classroom; thus, in practice, she did seem to acknowledge a degree of uniqueness in students.

Ms. Welch did recognize problems of self-esteem in some of her minority students on particular occasions and a possible connection to their cultural background. Ms. Welch was heard on one occasion to make a derogatory ethnic "slur" on the playground, indicating that, in fact, she may not have viewed all children as the same. Yet she was observed giving her students an exercise (from Psychology Today) of matching photos of people (from different ethnic groups) with occupations, to show that stereotypes are not useful but rather that people need to be known individually for correct judgments. Such an exercise emphasizes individuality rather than sameness.

Whitman teachers acknowledged sensitivity to multicultural concerns as well as their aim to include multicultural curriculum the following year. Notwithstanding this sensitivity, they still maintained that differences in learning needs should be dealt with individually, without regard to ethnic or cultural background.

7. Sex Roles

Consistent with general philosophies, the more conservative traditionalist Shepherd teachers espoused the traditional male/female roles in society and divided boys from girls for certain class activities, while the Whitman teachers were more nontraditional. It appeared that Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy, and to some extent Ms. Brooks, were the most aggressive overall in promoting equality of sex roles.

E. Socioemotional Development*

The ethnographers/data analysts analyzed the daily fieldnotes from classroom observations at the beginning of the school year by coding transcripts according to target behaviors identified as important by analysts examining data from the exploratory study (see Whitmore-Hopkins, 1980, Report MESE 79 1c). The coding scheme focused on positive and negative teacher and student behavior considered to promote (positive behavior) or inhibit (negative behavior) growth of (1) individual student self-concepts; (2) group self-image; and (3) social awareness, understanding, and skills. See Figure 5 for a complete list of the behaviors. In addition, assessments were made of the provision of ethnic role models, confrontation of negative attitudes and stereotypes, and relations with parents, all considered important in promoting socioemotional development of students.

In this section, evaluations of the validation study teachers will be presented in terms of practices affecting the relationships between teacher and student behavior. These results are based on ethnographers' observations and judgments, as well as corroborating evidence provided by coding the field notes. Table 7 provides the data for the six teachers based on the coding scheme in terms of percentages of total teacher and student behavior coded. Table 8 presents a summary of the analysts' evaluations of the six teachers on dimensions of teacher behavior deemed important in promoting student socioemotional development. Each of these teaching dimensions will be discussed.

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* This section summarizes the detailed analyses reported in Dasho (Ed.), *Analysis of Socioemotional Development*, MESE Report 816, 1981.

FIGURE 5

Terminology for MESE Coding

Symbol	Category of Teacher Behavior
POSITIVE:	
AFF	Affirmation of individual or group worth, value of differentness, uniqueness; acceptance; affiliation; gestures of affection
RE	Rewards, praise, reinforcement
Q/Exp	Asking questions or providing curriculum to stimulate student self-expression, elaboration of ideas, etc.
CH/D	Providing opportunities for students to make choices, decisions
COOP	Encouraging cooperation, sharing
SD	Encouraging opportunities for student self-direction, self-management; gives responsibility, leadership opportunities
SI	Student initiation encouraged or accepted
SE	Student self-evaluation solicited or accepted
TE	Teacher equality: listens, responds, conveys respect to students; reveals humanness (e.g., admitting error)
PR	Engaging children in rewarding problem solving activity
SUC	Providing a sense of success through curriculum and instruction; developing pride in ability
POS	Positive constructive management tactic to discipline, correct behavior, or improve work habits
SOC	Instructing in appropriate social behavior; conveying values, standards
NEGATIVE:	
REJ	Rejection of individuality, cultural differences, or group worth probably communicated
CR	Criticism possibly creating a sense of shame, lack of worth, embarrassment; includes firm discipline that is moderate
TC	Rigid teacher control over decisions, choices, management, evaluation; firm control tactics greater than CR
ID	Student initiation discouraged or rejected
TER	Student self-expression terminated prematurely or rejected or ignored
COMP	Fostering competition among peers
PUN	Harsh punishment or scolding probably causing public humiliation or negative feelings about self or school

FIGURE 5 (continued)

Symbol	Student Social Behavior/Peer Interaction
POSITIVE:	
SHAR	Cooperation, sharing, acts of friendship, conflict-free play or work
RES	Conflict resolution, developing social problem solving skills
ACC	Acceptance of others' ideas, accomplishments
INCL	Inclusive behavior, invitational
LEAD	Evidence of student leadership
RESP	Independent carrying out of responsibility or work
COH	Behavior evidencing or contributing to group cohesion
ENTH	Enthusiasm or very positive attitudes expressed
NEGATIVE:	
DIV	Competition mitigating against cohesion, dividing group
CONF	Conflict, fighting that is counterproductive, divisive; disruptive aggression, put-downs, hostile behavior with peers
EXCL	Exclusive, alienating behavior (including rejection of ideas, contributions, behavior)
CHAL	Challenging authority, defiance, rebellion, arguing with teacher
NEG	Negative attitudes expressed; belligerence, lack of motivation to do task; rude retorts
FAIL	Evidence sense of failure, quit task, students refuse to participate, teacher terminates activity for lack of "success"

NC = Not Coded

Table 7

Percentages of Total Coded Teacher or Student Behavior in Each Category of Socioemotional Analysis

POSITIVE TEACHER BEHAVIOR

	Lolla-brigida	Welch	McCarthy	Easy	Polk	Brooks
AFF	11	1	12	8	16	3
RE	10	19	5	15	27	16
SUC	1	1	0.3	0.2	0	0
POS	8	3	28	22	2	53
SI	4	1	7	4	6	0
COOP	4	1	3	3	2	3
Sub-Total						
Q/Exp	3	1	5	3	5	4
CH/D	2	0	5	2	1	1
SD	1	1	6	6	2	2
SE	0	1	4	2	1	0.4
TE	4	2	11	7	5	2
PR	1	2	3	6	0	2
SOC	7	1	4	4	6	7
Total	56	34	93	82	74	93

NEGATIVE TEACHER BEHAVIOR

REJ	1	2	0	0	0	0.4
CR	25	38	4	14	21	1
TC	10	15	1	1	2	1
ID	4	4	1	1	2	3
TER	2	4	1	1	0	1
PUN	2	2	1	1	0	0
Sub-Total						
COMP	0	1	0	0	0	0
Total	44	66	8	18	25	6

Table 7 (continued)

Percentages of Total Coded Teacher or Student Behavior in Each Category of Socioemotional Analysis

STUDENT POSITIVE BEHAVIOR

	Lolla-brigida	Welch	McCarthy	Easy	Polk	Brooks
SHAR	4	4	19	32	49	15
RES	0	1	2	0	0	0
ACC	4	1	3	5	2	0
INCL	0	1	8	3	1	0
LEAD	2	4	2	1	3	6
RESP	6	1	10	7	2	0
COH	8	3	3	2	0	0
ENTH	29	35	6	27	3	7
Total	53	50	53	77	60	28

STUDENT NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR

DIV	8	11	11	6	11	4
CONF	15	16	8	2	16	20
EXCL	4	8	18	3	1	2
CHAL	0	10	1	5	3	32
NEG	17	1	10	7	9	14
FAIL	2	5	0.3	1	0	0
Total	46	51	48	24	40	72

Table 8

Evaluations of Six Teachers on Their Effectiveness in Using Teaching Practices Which Promote Student Socioemotional Development

	Affirming Individual Self-worth	Multiethnic Role Models	Confronting Negative Attitudes	Self-direction	Communication Skills	Cooperative Citizenship	Relations With Parents
Lollabrigida	+	0	0	0	0	0	+
Welch	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
McCarthy	+	0	+	+	+	+	+
Easy	+	0	+	+	+	+	+
Polk	+	0	+	+	0	+	0
Brooks	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

+ = positive teacher behavior concerning this area of teaching for students' socioemotional growth

0 = teacher behavior in this area was not observed, negligible, or negative

From S.J. Dasho (Ed.), MESE Report 815.

1. Affirming Student Self-Worth

Teacher behavior considered to relate positively to student self-worth included: (1) sanctioning individual or group uniqueness through AFFirmation, AFFiliation, or AFFection; (2) listening, conveying respect, revealing humanness to demonstrate Teacher Equality (TE); (3) providing a sense of SUCCess through curriculum and instruction while developing pride in ability. Corresponding positive student behavior included: (1) developing social, problem-solving skills through conflict RESolution; (2) ACCepting others' ideas, accomplishments; and (3) INCLusive, invitational behavior.

Teacher behavior considered to relate negatively to self-worth were: (1) REJecting individuality, cultural differences, or group worth; (2) CRiticizing or creating sense of shame, embarrassment, or lack of worth; and (3) PUNishing or scolding harshly, probably leading to humiliation or negative feelings. Corresponding negative student behavior included: (1) CONFlict that is counterproductive, divisive, or disruptive; (2) EXCLusive, alienating behavior; and (3) behavior evidencing a sense of FAILure.

At Shepherd School, Ms. Lollabrigida was found to exhibit relatively moderate amounts of both positive and negative behavior in these categories (but somewhat more negative), while Ms. Welch had overwhelmingly negative behavior and very little positive behavior. Both teachers had predominantly negative student behavior in these categories. Ms. Lollabrigida was relatively high on behavior affirming student uniqueness and showing teacher equality. Almost two of every five recorded behaviors of Ms. Welch involved criticizing students. Most of Ms. Lollabrigida's negative behavior was also criticizing, but she had much more positive behavior to help offset it.

At Whitman School, the teachers were each more positive than negative in behavior that can relate to student self-worth. Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy both were high, relative to other teachers, on both affirming and teacher equality behavior, similar to Ms. Lollabrigida. Ms. Polk was the highest of all teachers on affirming uniqueness but was somewhat lower than Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy on teacher equality. Ms. Brooks exhibited little behavior, positive or negative, that would relate to student self-worth, probably due to a majority of her time being devoted to attempts at managing her class.

It is probably worth noting that two teachers, Ms. Lollabrigida and Ms. Brooks, each had one or two instances of behavior that rejected individuality or cultural or group worth, while Ms. Welch, also the highest on criticizing, had six observed instances. The other three teachers at Whitman evidenced no instances of such potentially damaging behavior. While the number of occurrences was few, it must be considered that even one such instance might be so significant and detrimental to student self-worth that it would be difficult to overcome the damage. Similarly, it might be that a moderate number of instances of the teacher affirming students' self-worth or revealing his or her own humanness or equality with the students would be of sufficient impact to promote feelings of self-worth among students. In other words, teachers can use such behavior selectively and still achieve significant impact.

Ms. McCarthy, in describing her students, continually evidenced a pervasive concern for treating students as individuals with unique qualities. An equal concern was to have her students see and treat her as a human being, not as an authority figure. These concerns carried over into her teaching, as the daily observations showed repeatedly.

Ms. Easy also had a similar far reaching concern about affirming individual worth and she exhibited this concern in a wide variety of ways during classroom interaction. She often used a situation of praise to an individual student to communicate a larger message to the class. Important to Ms. Easy's teaching style was the fact (not shown in the coded percentages of behavior) that many of her rewards and constructive management tactics also in tone and words emphasized individual worth. Futhermore, almost to an incident, instances of criticism were immediately followed by expressions of affection or affirmation of worth, either by something as simple as a hug or a joke or as involved as a private talk conveying personal concern and liking for the student in spite of that student's unaccepted behavior.

2. Facilitating Communication Skills

Of the six teachers, the two teachers who offered students the most training in communication skills that foster social skills and understanding were Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy, both at Whitman School. Ms. McCarthy concentrated on providing opportunities for students to make choices or decisions and engaging students in problem solving activity. Since this type of activity was built into the ELP, the percentages of coded behavior very likely underrepresented the occurrence of these types of behavior in these classrooms. Students had very little behavior coded as promoting communication skills in any of the six classes, but it may also be worth noting that students in Ms. McCarthy's and Ms. Easy's classes exhibited considerably less negative behavior in this area (behavior which might impede communication skill development) than students in the other four classes.

3. Self-Direction, Leadership, Self-Evaluation

Teacher behavior promoting student self-direction, self-evaluation, and leadership included: encouraging opportunities for self-direction and management (SD), soliciting or accepting student self-evaluation (SE), and encouraging or accepting student initiative (SI). Again, Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy exhibited more of these facilitative behaviors than the other teachers. Ms. Polk was the next most positive teacher in this area, particularly in facilitating student initiative. Ms. Brooks exhibited small degrees of both positive and negative behavior while Ms. Lollabrigida and Ms. Welch were coded as effectively inhibiting student initiative and self-direction through rigid teacher control over decisions (TC) and discouraging initiative (ID). Ms. Welch, as well, had a number of recorded instances of rejecting, ignoring, or terminating student self-expression (TER), behaviors which can effectively stifle student expression and have negative consequences for their self-concepts as well, even if occurring only occasionally.

As a result of greater facilitation of self-direction by Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy, their students exhibited a higher proportion of carrying out responsibility or work. Ms. Lollabrigida's students, who were industrious in doing their assignments, demonstrated some taking of responsibility in doing so. Little evidence of students assuming leadership was coded in any of the classes. More such behavior was evident in Ms. Brooks' class than the others, but this was probably due to the teacher's avoidance of leadership, occasionally forcing a student to take over some leadership in the class.

4. Skills for Cooperative Citizenship

A number of student behaviors examined related to either enhancement or discouragement of cooperative citizenship. Positive behavior included: cooperation, SHARing, acts of friendship, conflict-free activity; INCLusive, invitational behavior; behavior showing or facilitating group COHesion. Negative behavior included: competition militating against cohesion, DIViding group; EXCLusive, alienating, rejecting behavior; CHALlenging authority, defiance; expressing NEGative attitudes.

In this area of socioemotional development, students in three classes (Ms. McCarthy's, Ms. Easy's, and Ms. Polk's) clearly evidenced more cooperative citizenship than students in the other three classes. Most such behavior was coded as sharing. It is not surprising that sharing should so dominate student activity in the gifted magnet program where cooperation was structured into many learning activities. Students in Ms. McCarthy's class, however, also evidenced more behavior antithetical to cooperation: competitiveness was observed among students even in ostensibly cooperative activities in her class.

Ms. Lollabrigida's, Ms. Welch's, and Ms. Brooks' students seemed to evidence greater relative negative behavior inhibiting cooperative citizenship. In the Shepherd classes very little opportunity for cooperative behavior was provided, while Ms. Brooks had difficulty managing her class, and much of the challenging and negative behavior among her students was accounted for by a few boys who regularly disrupted the class.

5. Providing Multiethnic Role Models

None of the schools or teachers in the validation study provided multiethnic role models for students. All teachers were white women, and no other adults of minority groups were in the classrooms. All teachers at Shepherd were white women. While Whitman had an ethnically mixed faculty, all ELP teachers were also white women.

Although during the observation period each class in the study had one or two examples of multiethnic issues or people occurring in the curriculum or in class discussions, such occurrences could not be construed as providing multiethnic role models. In the follow-up observations, the Whitman ELP magnet did have guest speakers who could be considered multiethnic role models: a Latino art professor from the nearby state university and a Native-American man who grew up on a Native-American reservation. A social studies contract was also begun and emphasized contributions of various ethnic groups represented within the school district. Still, provision of positive role models was noticeably absent.

6. Recognizing Opportunities to Confront Negative Attitudes and Stereotypes

Teachers' recognition of opportunities to confront negative attitudes and stereotypes expressed by students can lead to influential attempts by the teacher to modify such attitudes and bring about better interpersonal relationships and thus social integration in the classroom. Among the teachers in the validation study, response to such negative attitudes varied. At one extreme was Ms. Welch who took no initiative to confront students' attitudes or intervene and, in fact, was observed to express negative attitudes herself often and even racist remarks on at least one occasion. At the other extreme, both Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy often confronted negative attitudes and stereotypes (although observed instances did not deal with racially-motivated attitudes or stereotypes) and used such instances as a springboard to class discussions as well as discussions with individuals and groups of students.

In Ms. McCarthy's class, most such instances related to attitudes and feelings about social isolation--popularity and unpopularity. Her emphasis was on talking out feelings without giving any attendant moral directives, which appeared to the ethnographers to lead at times to student uncertainty about how they should act. The effect of Ms. McCarthy's frequent confrontations of negative stereotypes was seen later in the year when the observers' impression was that student overt negative behavior toward the class outcast had lessened considerably.

Ms. Easy was insistent that students develop sensitivity to others and she recognized any conflict between students or incidents of hurt feelings as an opportunity to confront the feelings through discussion, sometimes with the entire class. Ms. Easy was able to relate such incidents to issues the class had already discussed. She focused all-class discussions on themes embodying the conflicts occurring, while focusing on the incidents themselves with the students involved.

Ms. Polk recognized racist attitudes and their effects on students; however, she did not always confront such attitudes. In her daily reports she noted the negative attitudes of one white boy (who expressed overtly racist attitudes) toward boys who were Mexican, Filipino, and Vietnamese, speculated on the possible racial overtones, but typically ended up attributing this antipathy to personal rather than racial problems and did not confront the student. However, in an incident in which a white girl reported unease at being surrounded by Spanish-speaking Mexicans at the bank, Ms. Polk confronted her by pointing out that if the Mexicans heard her speak English they might also have thought her language strange and have been scared of her.

Ms. Lollabrigida consistently missed opportunities to confront negative attitudes and stereotypes, both in curricular content and in her students. She was surprised, as well as disappointed, by this situation when she received feedback through the case study report on her classroom. Thus, she became sensitized to the issue, but follow-up observations still did not report any instances where she confronted such attitudes.

Ms. Brooks provided still a different model of teachers' dealing with negative attitudes and stereotypes. While she did use literature dealing with racial/ethnic attitudes, she appeared not to be willing to deal with expressed attitudes in class, such as the small group of white boys who disrupted class and taunted others, especially the Vietnamese girls. Perhaps her self-acknowledged discomfort in dealing with classroom management problems carried over to problems of interpersonal relationships of her students.

7. Skill in Dealing with Parents and Community

At Shepherd School, there was little communication between staff and the community. Parents, along with the students, seemed to be apparently satisfied as a whole with Shepherd's program. Ms. Lollabrigida reportedly got along well in a warm businesslike manner with both parents and students. Ms. Welch did recruit a parent as a "room mother" to help with occasional parties, but generally had few direct contacts with parents. Her (more conservative) views tended to conflict with those of the "newer generation" of parents and she expressed disapproval of the latter. When she met parents, it was apparently on a largely perfunctory basis.

Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy felt that good relationships with parents were essential to their teaching success and devoted exemplary efforts to cultivating rapport with and support from parents, especially parents of students with adjustment problems. When they successfully enlisted coordination of efforts with these students' parents, in many cases a good deal of improvement in student behavior resulted. Ms. McCarthy had good relations with the community as well, enjoying wide recognition as a very good teacher--with many parents seeking to place their children in her class.

Ms. Polk also placed emphasis on parents' involvement with their children's education but appeared to be successful in her relations with them to a lesser degree than Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy were. She apparently became upset with some parents who didn't cooperate with her fully, and the observers detected that such feelings may have influened her reactions to those parents' children in her class. On the other side of the coin, when she had positive relations with parents, she tended to have positive attitudes toward their children.

Alone among the Whitman ELP teachers, Ms. Brooks took little initiative in meeting with parents. On the other hand, she expressed disappointment at the lack of parent volunteers for the ELP's Halloween program. She made an attempt to meet with parents of some of her bused boys who were class troublemakers, but as with her attempts to improve her classroom management practices (discussed later) she apparently did not carry through fully, as she had not contacted all of these parents by Christmas. Follow-up observations indicated more contact by Ms. Brooks with parents concerning assignments not completed or inappropriate behavior.

F. Encouraging Social Integration

The goal of social integration not only requires equal educational opportunities but suggests the reduction of social distance among the participants. Social distance is reduced through positive interactional experiences and mutual acceptance. An assimilationist perspective attempts to achieve these ends through fair and equal treatment and an emphasis on commonality. A pluralistic perspective maintains that diversity must be understood and prized by emphasizing cultural differences. An assimilationist perspective was explicitly employed at Shepherd School; and--despite concerns for respecting individuality, developing self-esteem, and planning to use multicultural curriculum--was employed in practice at Whitman.

Since the classrooms contained neither a majority of minority students, nor students sent to the program for a "second chance" following a history of problems at another school, there was no reaction against the incoming students. Token numbers of minorities in desegregated schools historically have found acceptance by classmates (as was the case in Valley City). Thus, when conflict, exclusion, or lack of cooperation occurred the teachers were inclined to analyze the situation in terms of individual differences or personal problems rather than in terms of cultural, ethnic, or social class differences.

In these schools with assimilationist ideology, minority students tended to fit in like anyone else. Middle-class black children tended to be accepted and were even often among the most popular of their classmates. In the inner-city school (Whitman) the lower-middle-class white students, not the minorities, tended to be the disruptive elements in the classroom. An exception was Ms. Brooks' class where some of the bused-in upper-middle-class white boys were the troublemakers. Other minority students, Chicanos, Peruvians, and Vietnamese, had different sorts of adjustment problems. The Vietnamese students wanted to assimilate into the dominant culture. One teacher mentioned that they had told her they did not want to share aspects of the native culture with the class. The Vietnamese students quickly became top students. However, the newer influx of iliterate ethnic minorities from Vietnam presented noticeable strains in the rest of the school because of their un-westernized culture. These students, however, were not encountered in the ELP magnet program.

Two Peruvian boys in Ms. Polk's class had academic problems directly related to their lack of facility in English and were behavioral problems as well. The teacher did not develop a strategy to involve these students constructively with their peers.

In Ms. McCarthy's class, a Chicana was drawn to the subculture of her junior high friends. She was moody and insolent and did not participate in play at recess; instead, she would "hang out" by the fence. She was absent from school constantly "because her mother didn't care if she came or not." Marie was perhaps the only student observed in either school who refused to identify with the dominant ethos.

At Shepherd School the students were left to their own devises to work out friendships, rivalries, and problems on the playground as the only forum for social contact. If there had been racial strife in the classrooms, it probably could not have been handled effectively bcause there were no evident forms of conflict resolution besides referral to the principal. In the one reported instance of a minority being called a pejorative name, the offending student was sent to the office and the parent was notified, but the issue was not brought up in class.

At Whitman, the opportunity for social integration was enhanced by the high degree of cooperative learning tasks. This situation is obviously atypical because of the high achievement level of the students. Thus, no special efforts were required for fostering equal status interactions to benefit minorities, poor readers, or low achievers (e.g., the sort of work pioneered by Cohen at Stanford and Slavin at Johns Hopkins). [It should be noted, however, that the students' achievement levels were not homogeneously high. And it is significant that virtually all students who were social outcasts or behavior problems were also low achievers.]

Two of the four teachers probed students about their feelings or attempted to resolve conflicts within a public forum. Observations in these two classrooms since the conclusion of data collection for the validation study have revealed some problems that did not surface earlier in the year. For example, the lone black pupil in Ms. McCarthy's classroom told the teacher he felt strange isolated from other blacks. Later he was in tears over similar feelings.

The evidence in the exploratory study suggested that those teachers were saturated with awareness and just needed concrete strategies for implementing multicutlural curriculum into their already filled schooldays. At Shepherd School the faculty refused technical assistance offered by the regional Race Desegregation Assistance Center because they felt they did not need information on multiculturalism. The teachers in the study either indicated that this area was being covered by their celebration of Chinese New Year and Cinco de Mayo or they were not concerned with the issue.

At Whitman School, the ELP techers planned a multicultural orientation in their social studies program which was not to be introduced until the spring (and had yet to be designed). Despite the much more liberal orientation of these teachers there were very few examples of any curriculum dealing with cultural diversity.

G. Administrative Issues

Using the analysis framework of Moody and Hughes in the exploratory study (see MESE Report 79-1c.4), issues of leadership and policies pertaining to the implementation of the desegregation plan in Vista Grande will be discussed according to the following topics: commitment of leadership; teachers' personal views about desegregation; policies on curriculum content; policies on staff development; students' rights and responsibilities; ability grouping; and vacancies open to minority and majority students in the various programs.

1. Commitment of Leadership

There was a noticeable lack of commitment toward desegregation implementation in the district, from the central administration down to the site administrators and teachers. The district waged an all out fight against any such movement throughout the ten-year period from lawsuit to required (court-ordered) implementation. Some important administrative factors just prior to the implementation militated against commitment as well. A new superintendent took office just barely before the plan went into effect and he replaced the central office personnel who had been working on the plan with new personnel, principals with no central office experience and clearly not as conversant with all the issues and details of the plan. Thus, planning was done under a "lame duck" central administration, and there was lack of stability and continuity from planning to implementation of the crucial key personnel. In addition, one of the four targeted schools (not one of the two included in the validation study) had a changeover in principals at the time of plan implementation (the prior principal moved up to the central office as one of the administrators of the desegregation plan).

The district and school site administrators seemed much more concerned with the letter rather than the spirit of the law--making only the minimal changes required while taking pains not to "rock the boat." The district's literature, as well as the local media, downplayed references to desegregation in the new magnet programs and instead emphasized the "gifted" and "back-to-basics" aspects to make the programs appeal to parents.

Principals were likewise concerned primarily with the smooth overall operation of their schools and involved themselves little in the program or issues relating to desegregation. Ms. Robertson at Whitman was hardly seen in the ELP space and apparently did not make any efforts to integrate the program with the rest of the school. The teachers in the two magnet programs focused on running their classrooms as smoothly as possible and were also primarily concerned with the nature of their programs (back-to-basics, gifted) rather than with any multiethnic nature of students or curriculum.

2. Teachers' Personal Views About Desegregation

The teachers had little enthusiasm toward the desegregation plan and preferred neighborhood schools over busing of students. They felt the desegregation effort did not accomplish what it was supposed to, as few minorities transferred into Shepherd and there were few minorities in the mostly white Whitman ELP classes which were not integrated with the rest of the predominantly minority school. All teachers were experienced in teaching minorities and felt they would provide for their children's needs; however, they did not feel ethnicity played a major role in determining such needs.

3. Vacancies Open to Minority and Majority Students in the Various Programs

The scope of the first year of desegregation was meager. While 31 of 37 sites were out of compliance with the criterion of 70/30 percent racial balance, only 4 of 37 sites were targeted. Vacancies were available to both majority and minority pupils for the ELP gifted programs on an equitable basis. One was housed in a predominantly minority school (Whitman) and the other in a predominantly majority school. Eighty percent of the spaces were available for the incoming group. Both back-to-basics programs, however, were housed at predominantly majority schools: thus, majority students who did not attend the back-to-basics schools did not have such a program available.

The theoretical equity of this distribution was not supported by actual enrollments. Minority gifted students were underrepresented at Whitman's mirror magnet: thus, while the prescribed 80/20% majority/minority balance existed at Whitman, the mirror magnet was only 50 percent minority rather than the prescribed 80 percent. Enrollment of minorities totaled only 31 at Shepherd in October and only nine at the other back-to-basics program. District officials blamed this undersubscription on the strike, since interested parents decided to keep their children in their neighborhood schools where they were already in place by the time the teachers' strike was settled and the plan was implemented.

4. Ability Grouping

Ability grouping is generally considered detrimental to goals of equal educational opportunity if it takes the form of academic tracking (a common cause of classroom segregation according to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1976). Ability grouping was used in most of the classrooms, but students were not disproportionately represented in high or low groups because of ethnicity.

At Shepherd, there was no academic tracking and curriculum was uniform within grade levels. There was a tracking effect at Whitman, however, where the ELP with its bused-in white students was set apart from the rest of the predominantly minority students at the school. The gifted whites and the relatively few gifted minorities in the ELP received special opportunities not available to the rest of the school. Thus, the ELP, antithetical to the goals of desegregation, created an elitist gulf between the ELP students and the rest of the school.

5. Policies Regarding Curriculum Content

There was apparently no district policy (beyond state lists of approved texts) concerning multicultural curriculum or evaluation of textbook material for racial or sexual bias. The lack of concern in this area is consistent with the district's lack of any apparent aggressive concern with the "spirit" of desegregation.

6. Students' Rights and Responsibilities

There were disciplinary policies in effect at both schools, more formalized at Shepherd than at Whitman. At Shepherd, the entire policy was spelled out, including offenses leading to suspension and expulsion; parents were required to sign a contract of compliance with the code; and discipline was maintained with tight supervision and controls (as in Ms. Lollabrigida's and Ms. Welch's classrooms).

Whitman operated with the same suspendable standards, but there was no contract procedure and teachers quickly handled much of the discipline problems themselves. Although students in the ELP program had a good degree of freedom to move about and work on their own, essential discipline was maintained and was not considered a problem at the school.

7. Policies Regarding Staff Development

The district did not have any inservice training program to prepare teachers for desegregation implementation. Besides the apparent lack of commitment, inhibiting factors were lack of financial support for the program and the teachers' strike at the beginning of the year of implementation. Furthermore, staff development was not perceived as a need by either the district or the teachers involved. Training in Assertive Discipline was provided to all district elementary teachers, but such training was not particularly tied in with desegregation implementation.

H. Summary and Discussion

The final section of this chapter summarizes the findings in each teaching dimension reported. In the following chapter these six validation study (Vista Grande) teachers will be compared with the four teachers in the previous exploratory study (Valley City).

1. Teaching Philosophies and Beliefs

Using the types of judgments made in the exploratory study, Ms. McCarthy, Ms. Polk, and Ms. Easy might be described as the most effective in the validation study in overall philosophies and beliefs which can be considered conducive to multicultural education, although with the possible exception of Ms. Polk, they lacked some awareness of and sensitivity to ethnic and cultural differences among students. All teachers had high expectations for students, oriented toward achievement for Shepherd teachers and toward development of full intellectual potential for Whitman teachers and all except Ms. Brooks had secure and strong attitudes toward themselves as teachers. All were ambivalent to some extent toward desegregation: Ms. Brooks was the most fully supportive and Ms. Welch the most unsupportive. All except Ms. Welch and Ms. Brooks, again, emphasized socioemotional goals for children in both words and practice: Ms. Welch did neither; and Ms. Brooks verbally acknowledged socioemotional goals but was unable to deal with these in practice.

2. Socioemotional Development

Concerning the skill areas identified by the analysts in the exploratory study as distinguishing more or less effective teaching for socioemotional development, overall, Ms. McCarthy, Ms. Easy, and Ms. Polk were deemed more effective. Ms. Lollabrigida, Ms. Welch and Ms. Brooks were considered less effective.

While the Shepherd teachers, particularly Ms. Welch, did not seek to address socioemotional issues or promote social integration, their students were generally enthusiastic in class, accepting of the Shepherd teachers' practices and achieved good school performance: pupils' expectations for schooling were consistent with the values of their teachers. Ms. Brooks felt overwhelmed and insecure. She had problems controlling a group of disruptive white boys and lost instructional time, making her the only Whitman teacher who did not address socioemotional student needs (however, she did acknowledge the importance of such needs).

Although the tone of teacher communication with students was unique to each classroom, all but Ms. Welch conveyed acceptance and respect toward their students and an atmosphere of nurturance, tolerance, and praise.

The teachers considered more effective addressed concerns relating to self-concept in planning teaching activities, as well as in using spontaneous opportunities in class to promote self-concepts. Examples of affirming worth and confronting negative attitudes included group affective education (Ms. Easy), individual counseling (Ms. McCarthy, Ms. Polk, Ms. Easy), conflict resolution (Ms. Easy, Ms. McCarthy), sanctions of prejudicial statements (Ms. Polk, Ms. Easy), and positive reinforcement of students' differentness (Ms. McCarthy, Ms. Polk, Ms. Easy). The less effective teachers neither planned activities nor dealt with issues that might enhance students' self-concept. Ms. Lollabrigida did not discuss self-worth in relation to curriculum or social interaction but did create an accepting and warm atmosphere that seemed to nurture positive student feelings.

The lack of opportunity for cooperative work, discussion, tutoring, options, and decision-making in Ms. Lollabrigida's and Ms. Welch's classrooms was a function of the structure of learning activities. At Whitman, these opportunities were designed into the program: however, leadership among students was not developed, but Ms. Easy and Ms. McCarthy were exemplary in encouraging students to be responsible for their own actions.

The absence of minority adults and the paucity of multicultural curriculum or discussion of culture were striking. One or two examples per classroom of stories about other countries is hardly adequate for a desegregating school. The teachers seemed content to reinforce students' desires to be "American" more than members of ethnic groups.

The teachers more effective in the other categories were also the ones who generally made the most effort to establish working relationships with parents. In general, parents had much more contact with the ELP magnet program than with the back-to-basics magnet.

Thus, the more effective teachers were able to integrate socioemotional concerns with learning tasks and interpersonal interactions while maintaining academic goals. However, students appeared well-adapted to all the classrooms, whether or not such issues were addressed. On the other hand, students in classes of the more effective techers were more accepting of each other and had opportunities to develop more social skills and personal goals.

3. Instruction and Planning

For each teacher, preactive planning and instructional practices were a logical extension of pedagogical beliefs. Each also implemented a classroom environment that reflected her goals and was operative when the observations began in October, an impressive accomplishment since the teachers' strike caused them to have a late start and enter already existing classrooms upon returning to work. The first weeks of school were critical to the teachers in the exploratory study in setting their plans into motion (Clark and Brady, MESE Report 79-1c). The learning environments at the two schools were disparate, largely because of the magnets' different purposes and the teachers' own views generally reflecting the schools' "philosophies." Shepherd School, the back-to-basics magnet school, placed an emphasis on standardized curriculum, individualized seatwork, and a disciplined teacher-centered orientation. The "desegregation" program differed in no way from accustomed practices. Ms. Lollabrigida and Ms. Welch devoted instructional time to lecture content and correcting papers. Interactive planning was minimal, as both teachers adhered to and maintained consistent daily schedules.

The Whitman teachers, with their more flexible curriculum for the gifted program, required much more preactive planning, much of it collective. There was more experimentation in their planning, more consequent interactive planning during the day. There were more intrusions on the open space environment, which two teachers (Ms. Polk and Ms. Brooks) found frustrating because of the constant stress and forced deviation from their preferred instructional plans.

The largest difference between the teachers at the two schools was the greater emphasis on student independence, creativity, and flexibility at Whitman. Ms. McCarthy appeared to be the most committed to these principles and allowed her students to make democratic decisions which affected her lesson plans. Similarly, Ms. Easy rescheduled instructional activities on occasion to accommodate important discussions and capitalize on interpersonal issues that arose.

Desegregation posed few problems for any of the teachers. True to the assimmilationist ethos at Shepherd, there was no concern for multicultural curriculum and no need to accommodate instruction to individual student differences. The minority students easily and successfully adapted to the learning environment and their new school's social world, reinforcing the teachers' assimilationist beliefs.

At Whitman, the teachers did not consider ethnicity a relevant concern in designing or implementing their instructional plans. Giftedness was more salient than ethnicity to them in their new program. They were more concerned than Shepherd teachers with encouraging group cooperation, dealing with English deficiency, and understanding home situations of students with adjustment difficulties.

The teachers observed in the validation study provided several models of instructional effectiveness in multiethnic schools. Accommodation of ethnic diversity was not a major factor in achieving success. However, the teachers differed dramatically in the extent to which their instructional systems supported or encouraged social integration, socioemotional development, and pluralistic values, with the Whitman teachers more concerned with these nonacademic areas. Ms. McCarthy, Ms. Easy, and Ms. Polk again were considered to be the teachers who most successfully dealt with these issues overall.

4. Classroom Management

Although there appeared to be clarity of rules in all classrooms, the quality of both rules and clarity varied. At Shepherd, rules were numerous, teacher-initiated, and explicitly stated by teachers. At Whitman, there tended to be fewer rules and those were derived more by consensus of teacher and students and were more implicit in clarity (understood without specific and direct explanation). Ms. Polk and Ms. Brooks had more teacher-initiated rules than Ms. McCarthy or Ms. Easy.

Whitman teachers operated with more flexibility in determining and enforcing rules, compared with Shepherd teachers, Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy being the most flexible and using the most negotiation with students. However, they, as all teachers except Ms. Brooks, maintained reasonable and appropriate control of their classes.

All teachers except Ms. Welch were considered generally warm, affectionate, and accepting toward students and were at least relatively more positive than negative in their control strategies. All teachers except Ms. Brooks were effective (but in qualitatively different ways) in using preventive strategies-ranging from tight teacher control at Shepherd to the development of mutual expectations and understandings of acceptable behavior in Ms. McCarthy's and Ms. Easy's classes at Whitman.

5. Moral Socialization

While each teacher presented a unique approach to moral socialization, some patterns are worth noting about the teaching of values at the two schools. Shepherd School's traditional and conservative values were viewed as societal norms, not subject to questions, and were not communicated through discussion but through enforcement of normative sanctions. Safeguarding the accepted middle-class expectations was an integral part of preparing students for their future lives. Students were expected to accept tasks not requiring creativity and to be motivated externally to complete them, an orientation pointing to future lives in the service sector, where diligence (not initiative) is rewarded.

In contrast, the Whitman teachers were liberal in orientation and felt values were a matter of personal choice. There was more discussion in these classrooms of ethics, personal goals, individual choice, and responsibilities to others, and less reliance on normative sanctions to communicate about values. (Ms. Brooks, who focused on values far less than her colleagues, was an exception.) Only Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy spent instructional time actually dealing with moral concerns in classroom discussions. The Whitman gifted students (who came from a higher socioeconomic class, except for the 20 percent minorities) were required to be internally motivated, creative, and oriented toward personal satisfaction in the process and quality of their work. They were taught skills oriented toward professional/executive jobs emphasizing responsibility, initiative, and problem-solving. It is striking that such a poignant dichotomy in socializing the next generation of the work force can be documented within two elementary schools in the same district.

Cooperative learning activities have been shown to be preferred by minority students (notably black and Hispanic) and to be beneficial if not essential to the development of social integration among students through reduction of social distance (see, e.g., research cited in Crist-Whitzel, MESE Report 805). Students at Shepherd had virtually no opportunities for cooperative work, while the Whitman program had a strong emphasis on cooperation.

Thus, the validation study illuminates the findings of the exploratory study that the organization of the school and the classroom directly influences moral socialization. The value orientations espoused implicitly or explicitly by the teachers have implications concerning both socialization for future work lives and (through design or omission) for the likelihood of social integration being encouraged among students within the classroom.

6. Social Integration

Given the assimilationist perspective in operation at both schools (espoused at Shepherd and practiced at Whitman) and the ease with which the few minority students fit in with both the programs and classmates, mechanisms to encourage social integration were not needed. Teachers were not faced with excluded or academically impoverished minority students. The minorities present seemed to be able to negotiate their own way successfully--both academically and socially. Admittedly, most of the minority students either were or wished to be assimilated into the dominant middle-class culture. Thus, by and large, teachers were not faced with students whose aspirations were foreign to their own. Although there were isolated incidents among students in which teachers did (or might have) intervened, these were certainly not the rule. There were few examples in any classrooms of efforts to confront students' feelings or personal views about prejudice or ethnicity, which some students expressed to ethnographers.

There was also (as has been mentioned before) a dearth of multicultural curriculum at both schools. Multicultural curriculum was viewed as an addition at both schools--something to incorporate "later on" once the academic program is already established. Since successful multiculturally-oriented classrooms we have observed seem to operate as such from the very beginning of the school year, the observations in Vista Grande seem to be one more instance of the gradual fade-in approach typical of districts undergoing the first year of desegregation.

7. Administrative Issues

The district clearly evidenced a lack of commitment to desegregation. Their plan involved very few schools and very few students. There was little evidence of planning for implementation, other than the placement of bodies. There was no inservice training and no plans for multicultural curriculum.

The principals appeared to be minimally involved, if at all, with the programs, and other concerns apparently were more important to them. Teachers did not focus on student ethnicity or on multicultural concerns. In general, the response to desegregation by the district, the principals, and the teachers can be described as "minimal"--just enough to meet the "letter" of the law, but certainly not carrying out its "spirit."

In conclusion, the validation study illuminates the findings of the exploratory study that the organization of the school and the classroom for instruction and classroom management directly influences moral socialization. The value orientations espoused implicitly or explicitly by the teachers have implications concerning both socialization for future work lives and (through design or omission) for the likelihood of social integration being encouraged among students within the classroom. In the next chapter the implications of practices observed in both districts will be compared.

V. COMPARISON OF FINDINGS
OF THE EXPLORATORY AND VALIDATION STUDIES

The focus of this chapter will be on comparisons of the teachers in the exploratory and validation studies in the teaching dimensions covered in the previous chapter: teaching philosophies and beliefs; socioemotional development; instructional practices and teacher planning; classroom management; and moral socialization. Following such comparisons, discussion will turn to a listing of practices characteristic of less effective teaching in desegregated classrooms. Then, as specific case examples, Vista Grande teachers will each be discussed in terms of accommodations they did make, as well as recommendations for training to make them more effective. Finally, some recommendations for inservice training in general for teachers in newly desegregated or multicultural settings will be set forth.

In the exploratory study (Valley City), the four teachers at four different schools were evaluated by the data analysts as being consistently more or less effective teachers across the domains of socioemotional development, planning and instructional practices, classroom management, moral socialization, and encouraging social integration. Two teachers were struggling with their classrooms, while two were highly successful. The validation study does not allow for such clear or consistent contrasts between the skills and styles of more and less effective teachers. All the teachers maintained classrooms which seemed to produce successful academic performance and social adjustment for most students. With the goals of social integration and multiculturalism in mind, the six teachers in Vista Grande can be discussed in terms of more or less effectiveness in certain practices, but there is not such a clear overall division of more and less effective teachers, as in the exploratory study.

Since the goals and philosophies of the two magnet schools in Vista Grande were so disparate, the criteria of effectiveness could not be applied on an equal basis to the two settings without distorting the different cultural "purposes" of the schools. At each of the magnets, certain of the criteria of effectiveness in instruction and classroom management were antithetical to the existing (and successful) teaching practices. For example, creativity and flexibility were primary teaching goals in the ELP magnet, while the emphasis in the fundamentals program was on organization and consistency.

Furthermore, comparisons between the two field studies are likewise difficult because of the extreme differences in student populations in the classes (predominantly minority and lower-achieving students in Valley City versus predominantly majority, higherachieving, and many gifted students in Vista Grande) as well as the nature of the two magnet programs in the two schools of the validation study. The differences in teacher characteristics may affect comparisons as well (e.g., two minorities, two men in Valley City and all white women in Vista Grande).

Rather than using qualitative criteria to place all the teachers on a continuum of effectiveness, comparative conclusions emphasize successful (or unsuccessful) practices rather than more "effective" (or less effective) teachers. In many instances it appears to be more useful to compare teachers at Shepherd School with those at Whitman School, although there are teacher-to-teacher variations within both schools which are important to point out.

Teaching Philosophies and Beliefs

In the exploratory study, the two teachers deemed more effective emphasized socioemotional development over academic skill development of students, while the less effective teachers were concerned mainly with academic development.

In the validation study all teachers were first and foremost interested in promoting student intellectual (academic) development, while some (notably Ms. McCarthy, Ms. Easy, and Ms. Polk--deemed to be the most effective in promoting socioemotional development) verbally and behaviorally emphasized socioemotional goals in addition. Ms. Lollabrigida at Shepherd was concerned with socioemotional development but within a much more limited and restricted realm--affirmation of self-worth within the confines of classroom rules and achievement. Ms. Welch was not at all concerned with socioemotional development while Ms. Brooks was verbally supportive of its importance but was so wrapped up in classroom management problems that she was not able to focus on students' socioemotional growth.

While the more effective teachers in the exploratory study evidenced high expectations and higher professional self-concepts and the less effective teachers generally low expectations for students and low professional self-attitudes, all teachers in the validation study can be described as possessing high expectations for students--and all but one (Ms. Brooks) had apparently secure and positive attitudes toward themselves as teachers. The Shepherd teachers expected, and apparently produced, good student achievement.
The Shepherd faculty prided themselves on their students' achievement (among the highest in the district), and all Whitman teachers taught gifted students and thus would quite naturally possess high expectations of their students and probably good feelings about themselves for having the rewarding and challenging opportunity to teach bright children.

All exploratory study teachers viewed students as individuals. The two more effective teachers (Mr. Lewis, Ms. Garcia) viewed them as individuals with very unique qualities, although Mr. Lewis (judged the most effective of the four) was extremely aware of racial or cultural differences, while Ms. Garcia ignored such differences. Of course, she herself is Mexican-American, taught mostly Mexican-American students from her own community, and was already well-acquainted with students (having taught most of them the prior year) and their families. Mr. Williams viewed his students as minority members (blacks) but tended to view such status as a disadvantage to be overcome (the teacher is black himself) and not as a positive source of uniqueness. In the validation study, the two Shepherd teachers saw all students as the same (no individual differences, racial, cultural, or otherwise), while the Whitman teachers viewed them as individuals with regard to strengths, weaknesses, and needs--but except for Ms. Polk to some extent, they did not associate these with racial or ethnic differences. Thus, of all the teachers, Mr. Lewis, in the exploratory study, and Ms. Polk (to some degree) in the validation study were the most sensitive to ethnic differences and unique individualities among their students. The remaining teachers viewed students as unique individuals (some to a great degree) but did not see them in terms of ethnic differences.

Attitudes among the ten teachers in the two different studies varied from one end of the spectrum to the other concerning desegregation. Mr. Lewis in Valley City was the most forthrightly supportive of the desirability of desegregation and the implementation of the plan. He was consciously concerned and sensitive about the issues involved. Ms. Brooks at Whitman School was probably the next most openly favorable teacher to both the spirit and her district's implementation of desegregation. Mr. Williams of Valley City was decidedly in favor of true desegregation (although he favored neighborhood schools, he approved of busing if it went in both directions) but felt his district's plan fell far short (as well he might, with 100 percent Black students in his class).

Ms. Garcia in Valley City, as well as the other Whitman teachers and Ms. Lollabrigida at Shepherd, were more ambivalent. These teachers favored desegregation in concept and saw its value in the classroom, but tended to be more committed to the neighborhood school concept and were opposed to busing as the means for desegregating schools.

At the other extreme was Ms. Welch at Shepherd and Ms. Baker in Valley City--they were neither pro- nor anti-desegregation, but they favored neighborhood schools and felt that desegregation was not really the responsibility of the schools.

It is important to note that no teacher felt that desegregation would significantly alter their teaching conditions, plans, or responsibilities. However effectively they dealt with pluralism protection, their perceptions of their teaching role were not affected by their attitudes toward desegregation.

Socioemotional Development

In the exploratory study, the teachers judged more effective were those who affirmed individual self-worth; confronted negative attitudes and stereotypes; had more positive and warm interactions with students; were more positive, clear, and flexible yet consistent in management tactics; attentive to individual differences; more sensitive to personal, emotional, and social needs; provided opportunities for social development; provided multiethnic role models; and had positive relationships with parents and community. There was a relatively consistent division of the teachers into two who were judged more effective (Mr. Lewis, Ms. Garcia) and two who were less effective (Ms. Baker and Mr. Williams) and did not posses or provide the above positive socioemotional qualities or instructional dimensions.

In the validation study, although the teachers can be divided in general into those who were more and less effective by these criteria, it is more useful to compare these teachers on their practices rather than place them on a continuum of effectiveness. Four teachers (Ms. McCarthy, Ms. Easy, and Ms. Polk at Whitman and Ms. Lollabrigida at Shepherd) appeared to be successful in affirming self-worth of students. The three Whitman teachers used the curriculum and social interactions to reinforce students' uniqueness, resolve conflicts, and promote positive feelings. While Ms. Lollabrigida did not use these means for affirming self-worth, she did create a warm and accepting atmosphere in which children seemed to respond with good feelings about themselves. Ms. Welch was negative in her communication with students (critical and harsh), while Ms. Brooks simply did not address issues of self-worth, probably through her own feelings of insecurity in the situation as well as the constant disruptiveness of her troublemaking students.

None of the teachers in the validation study either was a minority herself (as were two teachers in the exploratory study) or had minority aides in the classroom as did the teachers, particularly the more effective ones, in the exploratory study. Thus, there was no successful provision of multiethnic role models at the two Vista Grande schools.

The more effective teachers (particularly Mr. Lewis) in the exploratory study successfully fostered student self-evaluation and social problem solving. Mr. Lewis used cooperative activities to foster leadership. Some of the Whitman teachers, notably Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy and to a lesser extent Ms. Polk, were exemplary in developing student self-responsibility. However, even with the widespread opportunities for cooperative activities at Whitman, the development of leadership appeared to be absent there. The Shepherd teachers, like the less effective teachers in the exploratory study, did not focus on student self-direction. Consistent with their own and Shepherd's goals, they were concerned with controlling student work and evaluation. There were no real opportunities in these classrooms for cooperative work (though Ms. Welch did initiate some peer tutoring later in the year) or leadership.

The three Whitman teachers who were successful in promoting both self-worth and self-direction (Ms. McCarthy, Ms. Easy, Ms. Polk) were also the most successful in promoting cooperative citizenship and in confronting negative attitudes. Thus, they were most similar to the more effective teachers (Mr. Lewis and Ms. Garcia) in the exploratory study. Ms. Brooks and Ms. Polk were less successful in instituting cooperative work opportunities: Ms. Polk expressed doubts about her ability to orchestrate such group activity; and Ms. Brooks' management problems again interfered with her instruction.

Regarding relations with parents and community, Ms. Garcia (Valley City) was perhaps the most effective of all teachers in the two studies. As a Mexican-American herself and a member of the Mexican-American community in which she taught, she was well-acquainted with and respected by the community. Having previously taught most of her students as well as their older siblings and having interacted with many parents in social as well as school-related situations, she maintained warm and friendly relations with them. Of the Vista Grande teachers, Ms. McCarthy especially and Ms. Easy most closely approached the ideal type of relationships with parents (and community) that Ms. Garcia enjoyed. Ms. McCarthy also had previously taught many of her students and was well-liked and respected in the community. Both Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy went to considerable lengths to know and develop working relationships with parents, especially parents of problem students, in an effort to deal with the students more effectively.

Ms. Polk did place emphasis on parents' involvement, but tended to become upset if parents did not fully agree with her and seemed to let her relationships with parents (positive or negative) influence her interactions with their children--an influence which could pose unfortunate negative consequences for some students. Ms. Lollabrigida was warm and friendly toward parents (as toward her students) and got along with them, but was less aggressive in parental contact than Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy, especially, and Ms. Polk. Ms. Brooks, consistent with her avoidance of confronting issues in the classroom, took little initiative and tended to avoid parental contact. Ms. Welch also had little parental contact and tended to show disdain for some of the parents, who were younger than herself and often did not adhere to her own conservative views.

Instructional Practices and Teacher Planning

While all teachers in the exploratory study used ability grouping in their instruction, the teachers judged more effective used it less and used it more flexibly. All teachers in the validation study except Ms. Brooks used ability grouping to some degree, the Whitman teachers perhaps somewhat less than Shepherd teachers: Whitman teachers used such grouping primarily in math and Shepherd teachers in reading. The effects of ability grouping on children of varying ethnicity appeared generally nonproblematic in the MESE study. The few minority students in the validation study were relatively well distributed over ability groups within classrooms; and among the ELP gifted students, their "talented" status in other areas might well compensate for being grouped by ability in one area. In the exploratory study, three of the classrooms were entirely or predominantly same-minority group students: the one teacher (Mr. Lewis) with a fairly even mix of majority and minority students was the one teacher who used ability grouping flexibly and the one who was most sensitive to cultural/ethnic needs and most supportive of desegregation. Ms. Garcia used ability grouping in reading, while Mr. Williams and Ms. Baker used it for both reading and math (and used it infelxibly).

One caution must be raised about ability grouping as administrative "tracking." The gifted program at Whitman with a majority of white students was, however, set off from the remaining predominantly minority students in the school, similar to the mostly white academic (also "gifted") kindergarten in Mr. Williams' nearly all-black school in the exploratory study. These situations present potentially negative consequences of tracking for the non-gifted minority student population at these schools.

The more effective teachers in the exploratory study used more whole-class and small-group instruction and relied less on independent seatwork than the less effective teachers. In the validation study, the Shepherd teachers used predominantly whole-group instruction and independent seatwork, while the Whitman teachers used combinations of small-group, whole-group, and independent seatwork activities: cooperative activities were much in evidence, especially in Ms. McCarthy's and Ms. Easy's classes. Thus, the Whitman teachers were more similar to the effective Valley City teachers, and Shepherd teachers more similar to the less effective Valley City teachers, in terms of instructional grouping.

Like the more effective exploratory-study teachers, Whitman teachers, at least partly because of the structure of their gifted magnet program and its focus on creativity, provided a wider variety of curricular materials and content compared with Shepherd teachers. It must be emphasized though, that the philosophies and goals of the two Vista Grande schools' magnet programs matched the curricular offerings provided, again making simple comparisons difficult. The Shepherd teachers and the less effective teachers in Valley City relied mostly on standardized curriculum and materials, with little choice or enrichment material available.

None of the Shepherd or Whitman teachers, with the possible exception of Ms. Polk, utilized much in the way of multicultural curriculum or practices. Mr. Lewis, judged the most effective in the exploratory study, incorporated multiculturalism as an integral part of his instruction. Although Ms. Polk focused on several multicultural themes and planned more for later in the year, the issue of multiculturalism was not pervasive in her instruction as it was for Mr. Lewis. Most teachers in both studies introduced little multicultural themes or issues in their classrooms and fell far short of what might be expected in implementation of multicultural issues by teachers in newly desegregated classrooms.

The Whitman teachers (especially Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy) adapted instruction a great deal to the needs of students, requiring much interactive planning and changes in plans. On the other hand, the Shepherd teachers planned instruction preactively almost exclusively and adapted their instruction hardly at all to accommodate student differences. The former were more similar to the effective teachers in the exploratory study, while the latter were more similar to the less effective teachers.

As might be expected from the above comparisons, the Whitman teachers were more student-centered (like Mr. Lewis and Ms. Garcia in the exploratory study) and the Shepherd teachers were teacher-centered (more like Mr. Williams and Ms. Baker) in their means of motivating students to be involved in their tasks. However, unlike the exploratory study where the two less effective teachers seemed to have difficulty preventing student boredom and keeping students on task, the validation-study teachers all maintained relatively high student enthusiasm and task-related behavior. Perhaps Ms. Welch at Shepherd (where some students appeared to be "tuned out" in spite of overall student involvement and enthusiasm) and Ms. Brooks at Whitman (with serious management problems revolving around the disruptiveness of a group of white boys, as well as an apparent inability to sustain her own overt enthusiasm in front of the class) had the least motivation and involvement among students--although most students seemed involved in both classes, and in Ms. Brooks' class particularly in creative activities.

Classroom Management

In Valley City, the more effective teachers (compared with the less effective teachers) were considered to be the more effective classroom managers as well. They were felt to have clearer rules and consequences and more consistency in enforcing them, while at the same time exhibiting more flexibility. They also showed more warmth and affection toward their pupils, used more positive control strategies, and used more effective preventive control strategies than the less effective teachers. The latter were less clear and consistent about rules and their enforcement; more rigid and negative in use of management tactics; less sensitive to student needs; and were not as effective in use of preventive control strategies (they were "reactive," as opposed to the more effective techers who were more "proactive"--see Good and Brophy, 1977).

All teachers at Shepherd and Whitman had at least a reasonably high degree of rule clarity in their classrooms, whether explicitly stated (e.g., Shepherd teachers) or demonstrated implicitly by example (e.g., Ms. McCarthy and Ms.

Easy) and whether determined and issued by the teacher (again, Ms. Lollabrigida and Ms. Welch and, to a lesser extent Ms. Polk) or negotiated by teacher and students (Ms. McCarthy, Ms. Easy).

All except Ms. Brooks, with her classroom behavior problems and inability to deal effectively with them, enforced their rules relatively consistently, albeit in different ways according to their different standards. Ms. Lollabrigida and Ms. Welch each ran a "tight ship" and were strict in enforcing rules. Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy applied rules flexibly to individual students (according to their needs for structure) but were consistent in their criteria and ways of doing so (although they would probably be labeled "inconsistent" by those concerned with strict enforcement of a list of rules).

All teachers in Vista Grande except Ms. Welch (who was critical and harsh) were considered generally warm and affectionate or accepting of students. This was especially true of Ms. Lollabrigida, Ms. Easy, and Ms. McCarthy, and Ms. Polk to a slightly lesser degree. The former three also were observed to use the most positive control tactics, while Ms. Polk and Ms. Brooks used more negative strategies in combination with their positive ones. Ms. Welch was the only predominantly negative teacher: she used criticism, group and individual negative sanctions, and social pressure as means of controlling behavior.

All Vista Grande teachers except Ms. Brooks used effective preventive strategies in maintaining classroom control. Ms. Brooks (although she experienced some improvement for a time later on) was inconsistent in her control strategies, had a more chaotic classroom atmosphere, and spent much of her time reacting to students' behavior problems. Ms. Lollabrigida and Ms. Welch relied on their strict monitoring and control; Ms. McCarthy and Ms. Easy largely on their negotiation and common understandings with students; and Ms. Polk to an extent on her charismatic personality for maintaining classroom control.

Over all aspects of management reviewed, Ms. McCarthy, Ms. Easy, Ms. Lollabrigida, and Ms. Polk were perhaps the most consistently similar to the effective teachers in the exploratory study, with the possible exception of Ms. Lollabrigida's lack of flexibility. Ms. Brooks was perhaps most similar to theless effective teachers in Valley City in her difficulty with maintaining an orderly classroom environment. Ms. Welch was similar to the less effective exploratory study teachers in her rigid and negative manner and control methods.

Moral Socialization

As in the exploratory study, the validation-study teachers tended to reward behavior such as paying attention, doing their work, good work habits, orderliness, self-responsibility, politeness, and respect for others--behavior generally expected of children in school. Likewise, teachers in both studies punished or discouraged behavior not conducive to completing work or behavior disrespectful of others. While academic excellence was not as a rule encouraged by teachers in the exploratory study (completing work and meeting minimum requirements was expected and rewarded), such behavior was important to teachers in the validation study (possibly because of the back-to-basics and gifted foci of the magnet programs) and encouraged by them, consistent with their higher academic expectations, compared with exploratory study teachers. Self-responsibility and respect for others was more emphasized by teachers at Whitman than at Shepherd, although politeness was also rewarded by Ms. Lollabrigida. Ms. Brooks was most similar of the Whitman teachers to the Shepherd teachers in being primarily concerned with orderliness and following routines.

The more effective teachers in the exploratory study relied on personal authority, based on friendship and respect of their pupils and not just on the authority inherent in their role, as the less effective teachers did. It appeared that all teachers in the validation study with the exception of Ms. Welch (who maintained distance from her students and saw herself as an authority figure) maintained relationships with students on some type of personal basis--they were liked and respected for themselves as well as for being teachers. Ms. Brooks was perhaps less successful than the others in capitalizing on her personalized role. At times, she effectively lacked authority in her classroom.

The more "effective" teachers in the exploratory study especially emphasized values concerning interpersonal relationships (such as cooperation and respectfulness); one (Ms. Garcia) emphaszied productivity, not in a future-oriented sense but rather for its own value. The less effective teachers inculcated primarily work values as preparation for the future and were little concerned with interpersonal values.

Values inculcated by teachers at Shepherd and Whitman tended to differ in a somewhat similar sense. Shepherd teachers instilled values of following routines and accepting and completing assignments as if for direct transfer to the world of work, where they would take their place in routinized assembly lines or service occupations. On the other hand, for Whitman teachers, with their gifted students probably destined for higher stations in the work world, values emphasizing the processes of work for their own sake were important--e.g., responsibility, carrying through, creativity, satisfaction with work, and love of learning. Values concerning interpersonal relationships were also inculcated at Whitman, with the emphasis in the ELP program on cooperation.

In the exploratory study, the two more effective teachers who emphasized cooperation also had classes with the most cohesive social systems, while the less effective teachers' classes were not so cohesive. Ms. Easy's class in Vista Grande was most consistent with this pattern: in her class, the students exhibited a spirit of camaraderie and concern for each other, possibly fostered by Ms. Easy's own such feelings and concerns for the students. The teacher's influence on the social realm was probably operating. The classes of Ms. McCarthy, Ms. Lollabrigida and to a lesser extent Ms. Polk appeared to be more cohesive than the classes of Ms. Welch and Ms. Brooks.

In Ms. Lollabrigida's class most friendships corresponded with seating arrangements: some were interethnic. In the Whitman ELP classes, cooperative activities allowed more interaction among students and thus greater opportunities for friendships. However, except in Ms. Easy's class, there were some divisions in friendships according to either racial or geographic (bused or not bused) lines. Some of this was due to lack of opportunity for bused-in students to mingle with others before or after class.

Mr. Lewis, considered the most effective teacher in the exploratory study, could be described as a pluralist or multiculturalist--concerned with individual uniqueness including cultural or ethnic backgrounds and needs. All teachers in the validation study, along with the other three teachers in the exploratory study, shared an essentially assimilationist perspective. This perspective was most pronounced in the Shepherd teachers in which value is placed on all students assimilating into the dominant culture. The Whitman teachers (like Ms. Garcia in the earlier study) who were concerned with individual differences and needs in students saw such differences as individually--rather than ethnically--derived. There were occasions in various classes where multicultural themes were discussed but certainly not to the extent found in Mr. Lewis' class in Valley City.

VI. RESPONSIVE FOLLOW-UP INVESTIGATIONS: A SERIES OF MINI-FIELD STUDIES*

Following the conclusion of data collection and debriefing for the validation study, new research efforts were initiated at Vista Grande in the spring (during April) based on findings from the fall validation study. This work was carried on concurrently with the follow-up observations, which were conducted January through May, to provide an update on what occurred in the classrooms over the course of the year.

This third field study--actually several qualitative "mini-studies"--was undertaken to provide feedback concerning topics of interest to each individual teacher as well as the MESE project. The Vista Grande teachers read the case studies of their classrooms that were generated from the fall study (MESE Report 80-10B) and met with the ethnographer to discuss the case study and determine a topic for a more focused investigation during the spring. It was hoped that these follow-up investigations would be responsive to teacher skill development needs (hence the name Responsive Followup), and/or would illuminate problem areas related to teaching ethnically diverse students. Ms. McCarthy's classroom was not included because a student teacher had taken over during most of this observation period.

A. Summaries of Studies

Following are summaries of the studies and results for each of the five classrooms. After the studies are summarized, teacher reactions to the studies, change in teacher behavior, and the usefulness of the research strategy are discussed.

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* For a complete report of these investigations see Dasho (Ed.), Field Study III: Responsive Follow-Up Investigations, Report MESE 81-15.

Ms. Lollabrigida's Classroom: A Study of Ethnicity and Teacher Style

The special study in Ms. Lollabrigida's class examined the effects of the teacher's methods of praise and sanctioning on white and minority students. It was found that, as Ms. Lollabrigida believed and articulated, she did not act differently toward minority or white children in either frequency or style of reward. Further, students did not vary in their patterns of response to the teacher. Assimilationism seemed to be operative, consistent with Ms. Lollabrigida's and Shepherd School's philosophy. All students appeared to accept and internalize this philosophy: as for the teacher, ethnicity had little salience for the students' classroom lives.

Ms. Welch's Classroom: A Study of Ethnicity and Peer Relations

The special investigation in Ms. Welch's class examined students' understandings of ethnic identity and the effects of ethnicity on play choices. Using socioemetric data, it was found that the boys' peer group for play was highly centralized and that ethnicity was not salient. The only black boy in the class and one of the five Hispanic boys were the most popular, followed by two white boys. All the boys, in fact, had a high degree of affiliation, particularly manifested by their play at recess when all boys in the class were accepted as teammates. The play-friendship pattern among girls was a series of overlapping triads: four girls were members of two or more triads, three of whom were Hispanic. Minorities were thus also among the most popular of the girls. Ethnicity was a salient factor in only one triad of Hispanic girls, one of whom identified strongly with the Mexican-American culture.

Another aspect of the study was ascertaining students' ethnic awareness and identity. It was extremely interesting to find that few students were able to identify many of their classmates, even close friends, as members of particular racial/ethnic groups. Language attitudes were also assessed. Only one of nine

Mexican-American students was bilingual, while some spoke a little Spanish. Other students in the class expressed interest in learning Spanish or some other language. The one non-English speaking student in the class (a girl from Tonga) was the most invisible--she had no reciprocal friendships and was little mentioned by others as speaking another language. Although she was also new to the class, her lack of facility in English undoubtedly played a role in her nonsocialization into the peer group.

The results of this study were certainly consistent with the "color-blind" assimilationist millieu at Shepherd--ethnicity was not a salient factor in students' peer relationships or knowledge of peers, except in limited circumstances.

Ms. Easy's Classroom: Case Histories of Student Adjustment Problems

The special study in Ms. Easy's class consisted of tracking the progress of four students identified as having the most severe adjustment problems (two whites and two minorities) and the effects of the teacher's interactions with them. The ethnographer focused attention on these children and their activities and interactions in the classroom.

Feedback concerning these students was given to the teacher and did influence Ms. Easy's attempts at dealing with these students, including her approach to them, attempts at counseling them and their peers, and working with parents. By acting on reports provided by the ethnographer, the teacher was able to help lessen the problem situations for two of the students (a direct intervention brought about a behavior change in one student). Home situations of the two minority students (one Mexican-American, one black) appeared to prevent changes occuring in their behavior. Although there was no indication that such problems were culturally-based, there nevertheless appeared to be some problems in communication between the teacher and parents of the Mexican-American student.

Ms. Polk's Classroom: A Study of Cooperative Learning Environments, Play Choices, and Leadership

As a result of Ms. Polk's and the ethnographer's views that there were no leaders in the class and of the teacher's desire to improve her skills in promoting cooperative activities, a study of these aspects of classroom life was initiated. Children were interviewed individually (with the exception of a group of four boys intereviewed together) to ascertain peer choices for play, for getting help in math and reading, and for class leaders. They were also asked about attitudes concerning cooperative work.

Some interesting findings emerged. Play choices for both boys and girls tended to be same-ethnic for bused whites and interethnic among minorities and local whites. Interethnic choices increased for bused whites when students were asked whom they would choose to help them in math (but not in reading). Vietnamese students were ranked among the most popular for both sexes. Concerning leadership, one of the Vietnamese boys was predominantly considered class leader because he was very smart. Interestingly, later in the year, another new Vietnamese boy in the class also quickly emerged as a leader.

When asked their preferences for working alone or with other students, there was a clear preference among minorities, and to a slightly lesser degree among nonbused whites, for cooperative work. Bused whites had a slight overall preference for cooperative work, but also had a general tendency to indicate preferences for both cooperative work and working alone, depending on the task. While there were some variations for certain subject areas, this pattern was fairly consistent. When asked if they wanted more or less cooperative work than they had been experiencing in the class, the overwhelming response was in favor of more cooperative work, particularly among all minority students but also among most of the whites. This finding of a preference for cooperative work among minority students is consistent with results of prior research (see, e.g., Crist-Whitzel, Report MESE 805).

Ms. Brooks' Classroom: A Study of Classroom Management Practices

The special study in Ms. Brooks' class focused on the introduction by the teacher of more strict management practices, their effects on the behavior of disruptive students, and the differential perceptions of troublemakers, minorities, and other students about the teacher's discipline. Ms. Brooks wished to pursue this area both because of her own acknowledged inability to control the class and because of corroborating feedback to this effect from the case study of her classroom.

Ms. Brooks agreed that she would work on implementing some new management practices, including new or reclarified rules and punishments, isolation or removal of disruptive students, and behavior modification for the most disruptive students. The observer noted that, for a time, Ms. Brooks did become more firm in dealing with management problems and made serious attempts to implement her new plans. However, after awhile, overwhelmed with her teaching demands and the open-space environment, Ms. Brooks to all intents and purposes gave up her attempts in frustration.

Most students interviewed about their perceptions toward the teacher's control and toward troublemakers felt there had been improvements in student behavior during class discussions. Minority students stressed the need and importance of rules in bringing about improved student behavior (external factors), while whites looked to the behavior of students as a key (factors internal to students). Troublemakers tended to perceive no improvement in their behavior. A number of students felt the teacher was not strict enough, and many would be more strict themselves.

Students had varying reactions toward disruptions caused by students. Vietnamese students were concerned for the teacher's feelings, Hispanics were angry at the troublemakers, as were the troublemakers themselves (some were angry at themselves). White students felt boredom. There was a general feeling among minorities that white boys (who comprised the troublemakers) thought they were cool, thought just of themselves, showed off, and made fun of minorities' clothes. The whites would have expected Hispanic boys to be the troublemakers, and the troublemakers agreed that white boys show off to get attention. thus, there was an indication of differential cultura responses toward disruptions and teacher control.

B. Discussion

The Responsive Follow-Up Investigations were undertaken to provide teachers with useful insights into the dynamics of their classrooms and test the utility of small-scale inquiry as a tool for teacher's professional growth. These mini-studies were designed to provide feedback so that teachers could better understand the needs of students in a multiethnic classroom. The following section includes discussion of the findings from these studies in terms of teacher's reactions to the process, change in teaching behavior, and the research strategy, and will be followed by implications for staff development.

1. Teacher Reactions

Ms. Welch, and, to a lesser extent Ms. Lollabrigida, at Shepherd School had received more critical comments than most of the other teachers in the case studies of the fall validation study and tended to be skeptical of ethnographers' further scrutiny of their teaching practices. Yet, by the end of the study, both teachers had responded favorably to feedback. Little in Ms. Lollabrigida's class could be observed which did not corroborate both what she intended and knew cooperative work and controlling peer selection of work partners. Nonetheless she found the research results revealing and useful.

Ms. Brooks' investigation involved an intervention because of her urgent need for training. Her classroom management difficulties, although not caused by minority students, were typical of the teacher who has difficulty controlling a newly desegregated classroom. Eager to implement the project's suggested discipline improvements, she sought support and guidance during the early observations. By the end of the year, the teacher less consistently dealt with management problems (which had been reduced) as the teacher felt taxed from coordinating the large amount of long-term projects added to the existing curriculum by the resource teacher. Thus, the suggestions about discipline at the outset were more valuable to the teacher than the follow-up on her implementation of the suggestions.

2. Behavioral Change

Little teacher behavioral change was observed over the remainder of the school year. Ms. Brooks did alter her discipline techniques according to the suggested reforms of the project staff. Ms. Easy utilized some of the information she received in informal feedback to deal with one of her problem students. Since this project was not intended as a training vehicle, the extent to whic change could be encouraged was necessarily limited. If these investigations were designed to provide criticism and/or training, teachers may have tried new strategies, but then the issue of dealing with more threatening information would need to be addressed.

3. The Research Strategy

The research team concluded that the utility of the follow-up investigations for the teachers was consistent with the expressed level of interest in participating and the degree of positive reaction to the case studies. A great

VII. DESIGN OF TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR MULTIETHNIC SCHOOLS

A. Training Areas Suggested By The MESE Studies

The ideal staff development model would encompass a system wide ongoing staff development process which would move all personnel toward greater professional skills beginning with the areas with the most apparent deficits vis-a-vis the desireable standards of excellence, and areas of greatest concern on a school-wide basis. To speak of such a massive effort suggests a continuing education effort in conjunction with the teacher training institutions. However, these institutions, with some notable exceptions, have not responded to the need to prepare new teachers for assignments in multiethnic schools. Nor have state licensing boards required teachers to take courses or demonstrate competencies in skills and knowledge revelant to desegregated/multiethnic schools.

We will not attempt to specify the exact content of staff development which should be undertaken by school districts, as the conditions vary from district to district, among schools and between classrooms. The MESE studies do suggest a range of needed training topics. Staff developers must tailor the emphasis and inclusion of these topics according to the specific needs of the target population. Clearly schools have a variety of strategies available for dealing with problems after they arise. For example, a greater repertoire of approaches was used in Valley City than in Vista Grande corresponding to the greater difficulties achieving black-white, as compared to brown or Asian white integration. The token scope of Vista Grande's desegregation plan precipitated little disruption of school culture or classroom procedures. Disciplinary problems were non-existent. The qualitative difference in identified training needs between the two districts was that some Valley City teachers lacked techniques for coping with the disruption of desegregation while Vista

Grande teachers were able to proceed with business as usual and generally lacked an awareness of (or a belief in) the need for capitalizing on cultural differences among students.

Thus the first step in any meaningful staff development process would be a candid evaluation of the existing teaching practices and administrative policies. Such an evaluation would seek to catch in its net the full range of training topics/issues identified in the MESE research and echoed in much of the literature of cultural pluralism and effective schooling:

- cultural awareness
- curriculum which utilizes a variety of learning modalities
- instructional practices which encourage equal status interactions
- instructional practices which encourage cooperative learning
- meaningful reward system for student achievement and behavior
- curriculum which reflects multiculturalism
- classroom discipline practices which are fair and appropriate for culturally diverse students
- interpersonal relations/conflict management training for teachers
- culling parental support and participation
- useful administrative supervision
- counseling skills
- program development (for magnets and learning centers)
- training for support personnel, aides, and others

B. Conceptual Framework for Staff Development

Because school desegregation represents a major innovation, change in organizational routines as well as personal change in teaching behavior is relevant to staff development concerns. An understanding of organizational change is therefore important for the developer, whose interest it is to overcome barriers to initiating processes for improving teaching quality. Rather than develop a theory of school change, we offer a strategy which builds on some of the insights gained from several frameworks and the multidisciplinary analyses of the MESE research studies. This strategy contains general assumptions:

(1) As complex organizations, schools have a tendency to resist change, and change only when it enhances agendas within the power hierarchy. Our recomendations for external change agents focus on practical rather than idealistic reform.

(2) Staff developers are simultaneously engaged in meeting organizational needs and personal needs of practitioners, and in providing services whose goal is educational improvement of students. Our recommendations for district staff developers assume a willingness to crusade for a positive approach to pluralistic education.

(3) Desegregation may impose drastic problems in which case staff training must provide conditions for incremental change; or, desegregation may be implemented with only "invisible" problems and the role of staff development must be to attune administrators and teachers to the need for addressing these issues. Because the districts studied by the MESE project were of the latter type, and because severe conflict is usually dealt with by mediators in crisis intervention, the recommendations focus on the non-emergency type of training program.

C. Orchestrating Staff Development for Multiethnic Schools

Securing Commitment from the District

District staff and external change agents face different tasks when attempting to gain the support of the organization for pursuing a staff development effort. An internal change agent is likely to receive a directive to generate a training process or seek appropriate consultants, then report to higher administrators for approval of plans. An external change agent is faced with the additional task of establishing personal credibility and the legitimacy of the proposed training methods and content. In either case, the best way to proceed is to connect the training process to improvement in educational quality and/or alleviation of anticipated or existing problems at the schools. Typically, districts wish to downplay the idea that something is being done for the purpose of desegregation per se.

The trainer must seek a commitment from the superintendent or the highest possible administrator that the work will be treated at a priority level, which will guarantee that the effort: (1) will not be subject to "over-supervision" from different departments or factions of the central administration; (2) will be perceived by site administrators as a high priority; and (3) will have enough autonomy and resources (allocation of planning time, money, release time, and ongoing evaluation) to accomplish the job.

As was mentioned earlier, the district is unlikely to consider scheduling inservice training during the pre-implementation phase of desegregation. Therefore, the first activity to be undertaken--before presenting a design for approval--is to conduct a needs assessment at the school sites where the plan is being implemented. Much research (e.g., the Rand School Change Study and the I/D/E/A Evaluation) supports the idea that the proper way to go about inservice training is to begin with needs generated by the faculties of the schools involved. These studies are heralded as a liberal approach to school innovation which rejects the traditionally held notion of top-down rational planning which emphasizes social efficiency in institutional reform. This liberal approach "discovers" that innovations actually occur through a process of mutual adaptation (Berman and McLaughlin, 1978; Hurst, 1979) between the developers and the recipients. Noting the obstinacy of school culture to change, adherents of this perspective argue for participation of teachers, democratization of planning input, and some amount of teacher autonomy in deciding what evaluation information will reach which audiences.

Laudable as this trend appears to be for practitioners' interests (compared to the more mean-spirited history of "teacher-proof" educational improvement), a growing number of commentators have pointed to the deceptively "participatory" strategies which do not shift decision-making power to local users (Levin, 1980, 1970). House (1974) notes that educational R & D has made use of "participatory" rhetoric which "serve[s] to enhance the ties between researchers, developers, and practitioners without shifting any initiatory power from the planner's to the practitioner's side of the spectrum" (p. 241).

Is it, then, ironic if not contradictory, for us to recommend that a participatory mode of needs assessment and evaluation be used while maintaining that certain classroom practices and teacher behavior be promoted? This question deserves to be considered before proceeding further.

The Moral Imperative of Staff Development in Desegregating Schools

Pincus (1974) among others claims that those school innovations which are adopted and implemented fulfill one of three needs of the school administration: (1) the innovation will promote the stability and the safety of the bureaucracy (e.g., protect positions or program accountability); (2) the innovation offers a way of fending off political pressure or scrutiny from above or the community; (3) the use of the innovation increases the status of the bureaucrat among peers. If these are the interests which sway bureaucracies, and teachers have certain other interests and incentives such as stress reduction, maintaining autonomy and control in the classroom, improving student academic performance, receiving recognition (Hall and Loucks, 1979), the developer, especially if an external change agent, must, as we have discussed previously, entertain the essentially Machiavellian labor of diplomacy. Yet as proponents of specific ideals--viz., cultural pluralism, social integration, equitable opportunity and affirmative action-desegregationists are committed a priori to a content of training. A serious moral conflict may be raised by this commitment and desire to democratize planning to groups (administrators, teachers) who have their own interests. For example, administrators may (and typically do) want to achieve school-level desegregation to comply with court orders, while ignoring classroom segregation, and set up mini-magnet rather than full-school magnet programs. Should a staff developer ignore or seek to overcome this arrangement and the obvious problems (such as isolation, inequitable distribution of resources, resentment) it brings? Should a staff developer go along with or fight against teacher-generated requests for training in instructional methods which reinstitute tracking, do not foster cooperation or provide further advantage to high achievers?

It would appear that there are two rationales which appear in theories of change. First, one can contend that change is acceptable if incremental; and the process of change can be initiated with noncontroversial objectives and more controversial (i.e., progressive) objectives can be introduced when the conditions are safe. The second perspective is that the structure of schooling mitigates against changes in the distribution of power among the social classes and that only through revolutionary change in the structure of societal institutions will change in the form and content of schooling occur.

We take the position that desegregation is fundamentally a radical project--a social experiment undertaken to countervene against the way that the social stratification deck is stacked, a means of bringing about massive adjustments in the opportunity structure of its people within the nation's most flexible institution. The presumption has always been that inequality in America could be corrected (gradually) through education, which, metaphorically, was seen as the wood for the ladder of social mobility. Studies of the gap between educational aspiration, higher education achievement and employment of minorities have done much to disabuse liberal thinkers of this notion.

Because there is a gap between what is known about the most effective ways to educate for pluralism, racial harmony, and educational achievement and existing practices and organizational arrangements, there is a need for technical assistance to implement the social experiment of desegregation to carry out the remediations required to assure constitutional rights of minority persons. Thus, technical assistance should be allied to the radical goals of social justice through educational equity.

At the same time, because technical assistance operates within existing institutional structure; rather than dictating wholesale changes in that structure, it must operate within the constraints imposed by the infrastructure and ideologies of public educational institutions. The concrete practical realities of technical assistance involve knowing what will improve schools and selling the process to the practitioners. The selling consists of (1) the problem of entry (selling administrators) and (2) the problem of legitimacy (selling teachers and community).

Thus the stance recommended by our experience is that the mechanism of practitioner participation in needs assessment, and in problem-solving groups are essential processes for both legitimacy issues and for maximizing commitment to change. At the same time the developer must take the responsibility (and the power) to limit the scope of decision-making input of others to program topics, processes and materials, which are consonant with the goals of, and methods for achieving, educational equity. This said, we shall return to the discussion of how to initiate a problem-solving process within the schools.

Minimum Components of Needs Assessment

Two obstacles stand in the way of teacher commitment to a problem-solving group. First, there must be direction from the school principal to overcome teachers' beliefs that any problems created by desegregation can be dealt with using traditional strategies within the classroom. Second, there must be recognition, in the form of support and release time, from the district. This problem-solving process should be maintained as a forum for teacher discussion during the implementation of training and evaluation of training effects.

At the least, the school's input into the components of training should take the form of a teacher concerns profile. This would be a survey or a resolution from a faculty meeting which ranks the relative urgency of (or preparedness for dealing with) a list of typical training issues. It might be helpful if teachers could be given a brief background on these issues, either in a personal presentation at the faculty meeting, or in the form of summary blurbs attached to the survey.

During, or after, this process, the staff developer should undertake a school climate survey, classroom observation of teaching practices and student interactions, and interviews with teachers, students, and parents. Curriculum materials should be examined for stereotyping and bias as well as positive multicultural content.

Report Results of Needs Assessment to Faculty

Supposing that the problem-solving group is a representative body, it is important to share the results of the needs assessment process with the entire faculty at the school. Resentment can quickly build if teachers feel that an in-group is making decisions for them. Prepare a report and schedule a meeting for discussing the document. Principal, all faculty and a district representative should attend. The next step is to produce a general plan and timeline addressing the training needs identified in the needs assessment. Once such a plan is generated and cleared by the district, the developer can generate components of inservice, using the faculty group as an advisory forum.

Begin With Low Threat, High Incentive Training Topic

The first topic selected for staff development should serve as a test of the inservice training process as well. This topic should: (1) be the highest priority topic which can be addressed with (2) a short duration of effort, (3) a high "payoff" for teachers (i.e. immediate demonstrable outcome), (4) and possess the least amount of personal threat to teachers. Examples are given in Figure 2.

For example, to accomplish the training goal "to improve school climate," one objective might be "to develop consistent policies for enforcing playground rules," while another might be, "to develop a counseling project to mediate between teachers and students with grievances." Clearly, the former has a much more limited scope and is less threatening to teachers than the former. If playground behavior or teachers' comfort level in doing "yard duty" improves, the process of training can be seen as a successful and useful tool. With feedback from the implementation of training, another more complex objective can be tackled. As tangible results of staff development incrementally accrue, a school culture supportive of change and growth will be fostered. It is unlikely that this culture will be sustained without some readjustments. For example, the problem-solving group may have a leadership vacuum. The staff developer should be in a position to be a mediator who can actively intervene around group process issues.

Change may be desired in areas which would require changes in the assignment roles or time commitments of teachers, allocation of resources by the district, or organizational demands on personnel involved. Staff developers

Figure 2

Examples of Training Topics

DESIRABLE CHARACTERISTICS OF INITIAL TRAINING TOPIC		CHARACTERISTICS TO AVOID FOR INITIAL TRAINING
Higher Priority	-vs-	Lower Priority
Develop a consistent classroom management/discipline policy		Develop a resource bank of multicultural bulletin board materials
Shorter Duration	-vs-	Longer Duration
Instruction in assertive discipline techniques		Ongoing observation and evaluation of teacher classroom management effectiveness
Lower Threat	-vs-	Higher Threat
Technique-sharing workshop		Evaluation of problems in teacher's classroom
Higher Payoff	-vs-	Lower Payoff
Immediate skills given for utilizing disciplinary policy		Develop long-term improved relations with parents in the community

who are external change agents are unlikely to have the authority to clear the way for such changes. However, working closely with a key administrator, structural conditions can be altered (what Berman (1980) calls "adjustment of organizational demands"). Money, contracts, and turf appear to be the main obstacles cited for not attempting such change. Clearly, change which requires structural adjustment will be the most fruitful, but the most risky. This is why the current thinking on innovation places great stock in influencing the school culture to become favorably oriented to professional development and thus sustain an evolutionary process of change.

Format for Training Sessions

When training is indicated, there are several implementation issues to consider. Teachers tend to be skeptical of trainers unless their presentation style is clear and interesting. Consultants should be selected who both have something to say and say it well. Technical assistance agencies (STRIDE, 1977) have long maintained that one-shot workshops are an inappropriate, albeit most frequently used, activity for anything more involved than issue sensitizing. Although most readers will be familiar with them, successful training has the following characteristics:

(1) Concepts are presented, followed by concrete demonstrations, a chance for participants to practice the skill and get immediate feedback about the performance

(2) Trainers model concepts in teaching them (e.g., the importance of positive reinforcement)

(3) There is a follow-up to allow trainers to try out skills and return for questions, and to allow trainers to determine if skills are being implemented

(4) There are tangible incentives for participating in the training

(5) Site administrator supports the training effort

(6) Training is conducted on a school-wide basis

Although we are recommending on-site problem-solving, some interesting observations were made during the first MESE study. When the district undertook training which they regarded as successful, it occurred at a university some 60 miles away and was conducted by a highly respected "expert." Commitment was so high that teachers attended despite the long van ride at 6:00 a.m.

Later, the district undertook workshops conducted by their own staff development department which met afternoons at the district office. Administrators claimed that teachers appreciated the release time and the chance to be brought together out of their school sites as a group of "professionals." Since the teachers in the study, at least, were antagonistic to training workshops, perhaps the district's successful training approach might warrant initiation elsewhere. Nevertheless, the training workshop is but one approach to staff development, and one which does not appear to be the most thorough or productive.

Research On Classrooms--The Potential for Staff Development

Regretably, academics fall sway to the principle of the "child with the hammer"--upon discovering the hammer the child also discovers that all the world needs hammering. Thus the problems of education are seen as the result of teachers being deficient in the qualities of the beholder. (If only teachers used a clinical model of diagnosis and prescription, if only teachers did evaluation, were behaviorists, sociologists, etc.) This said, we will argue nonetheless that teachers can benefit from research experience in their classrooms.

Although the needs assessment process described earlier can generate topics for workshop-type training, classroom research can: (1) provide answers to questions which arise in the needs assessment; or (2) surface issues which teachers did not recognize, or want to address initially. During the second MESE study, teachers were given case studies of their classrooms to review. In each case a researchable question emerged which the teacher wished to explore.

A series of mini-studies were designed which examined a specific question in each classroom (Responsive Follow-Up Investigations, MESE Report 8, 1981) Data collection was of short duration (two weeks of three-hour observations) and teachers had their results with one month of startup. A variety of approaches were used, including sociograms, interviews with students, videotaping problematic classroom situations, providing and evaluating new classroom management techniques, and tracking the behavior of problem students. Studies like these could be undertaken by teachers, student teachers, social science graduate students or district resource personnel. Problem-solving groups at the school site could suggest the research topics and receive design assistance from local educational researchers and district or county education department evaluators.

VIII. POLICY CONSIDERATIONS

The MESE studies generated an immense amount of information about the specific way desegregation occurred in ten classrooms in six schools. Yet the findings have generalizable policy implications for many American school boards. Findings about the quality of schools' responses to innovation and the quality of instruction and classroom management are consistent with the educational research literature on effective schooling. Thus most of the reommendations of the study concerning desireable staff development and administrative leadership training would apply to all teachers. The point to be emphasized is that the conditions of desegregation make staff development more critical.

Since the socio-political climate has changed dramatically since the inception of the MESE project in 1978, it is imperative to consider the societal context in offering policy recommendations regarding school desegregation. It is well known that several factors have combined to dramatically shift the emphasis of remedies for educational equity. These factors are: (1) the disappointing results of litigation for producing within-school equal access to educational opportunities; (2) The perception that improvement of minority academic acheivement has not been forthcoming from desegregation (this despite research to the contrary); (3) the deteriorating economic condition of many minority groups; and (4) the Reagan administration's funding policies and justice department (non)enforcement. As a result impetus for educational equity is moving away from concerns for racial integration to concerns for the quality of education for minorities. It is crucial to recognize, however, that the quality of education should not be assessed exclusively on the basis of test scores. Nor is the improvement of educational quality acheived by simply allocating more resources or setting minimum competencies for promotion and graduation.

The MESE research suggests that the kinds of skills effective teachers manifest, and the characteristics of successful multiethnic classrooms address social skills, clarification of interpersonal relations, psychological well-being ethics, and contact with students' families. We have noted that teachers in multiethnic classrooms must have more awareness and more techniques for addressing these aspects of teaching than does the teacher in the monocultural classroom. The condition of desegregtion MAY intensify the urgency of need for these skills.

It is perhaps ironic that at the time it appeared to the researchers that, because the districts studied had such limited desegregation plans, application of the findings to "full-blown" desegregation processes would be problematic. Instead, the conditions studied are highly representative of many of the kinds of integration likely to be attempted in the near future. In particular, the the districts' success in avoiding public conflicts points to the importance of public policy to support the applicability of teacher training in non-crisis situations--so that the goals of educational equity are not swept under the rug while the furniture is being rearranged in our magnet schools.

An update on the districts studied reveals important issues for policy makers. In Valley City the discontinuation of ESSA and conversion to block grants resulted in the loss of the majority of funds which supported the strong staff development program. Because sufficient numbers of district personnel were trained in the reading and instructional management improvement areas not all of the capability for inservice training was lost. Nevertheless, since ESSA paid for the resource teachers and integrated learning centers these programs disappeared.

In Vista Grande, the district's financial woes have led to bankruptcy, and prior to that, no expansion of desegregation beyond four schools. Because the participation of minorities was so limited, and because mini-magnet programs are segregatory, integration has died on the vine.

Meaningful improvement of desegregation remedies is unlikely. Three ways of abetting effective staff development in multiethnic schools are currently unlikely to occur: (1) increasing the financial resources of public schools (although there is currently a move to reinstate ESSA and to provide funds for beleagered districts such as Chicago); (2) including meaningful educational and staff development components in the court cases still in litigation, or (3) realizing the promise of the use of metropolitan plans to remedy racial imbalance in inner city and suburban schools.

Nonetheless, it is feasible for schools to implement an inservice training program, such as the one suggested in the preceding chapter WITHOUT financial strain, utilizing existing staff, and consultation and resources from county and state departments of education, IHEs and other technical assistance agencies. Educational equity and quality should be enhanced through improved teaching, administrative supervision, and resource allocation despite continuing racial isolation.

The poor cost-benefit record of the educational experiments of the sixties cannot be used to justify a return to the values and practices of the fifties--the choice simply does not exist. As the U.S. approaches the twenty-first century with a deplorably low literacy rate relative to other industrialized countries it is tempting for policymakers to develop tunnel vision regarding the desire to support basic skills development. Basic skills must not be defined too narrowly. The MESE research is but one of many studies which supports the position that the improvement of the public education requires teaching practices which accomodate the needs of increasing numbers of limited english speakers and culturally/economically disadvantaged minorities. Many teachers possess the desireable skills. Hopefully these teachers will be recognized and rewarded for imparting these skills to their peers. Currently there is much discussion of the "Master Teacher" concept for rewarding teachers who demonstrate superior performance. We would recommend that the skills identified as valuable to success in multiethnic classrooms be considered along with student standardized test score gains in selecting master teachers.

Should the federal government choose to reinitiate its role in providing funding and policy direction for compensatory programs it would be advisable to include compliance guidelines designed to insure that ongoing staff development occur in schools impacted with desegregation plans or serving ethnically diverse student populations. An educational system which truly serves the needs of society cannot ignore the importance of providing a constructive setting for underclass and minority children to maximize achievement, prosocial behavior and psychological well-being, any more than it can be guilty of violating the constitutional rights of its citizens. The egalitarian promise and the quality of our society are at stake.

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